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Black Sea Chief on Marine Action in Georgia

LD2211181093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1641 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Mikhail Stetsyuk for TASS]

[Text] Sevastopol November 22 tass—Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, praised the efficient actions of the marines landed in the Georgian Black Sea port of Poti to take under protection roads in western Georgia.

Both Russian and Ukrainian marines of the landing force acted well, the admiral told a news conference on Monday.

He mentioned that upon getting a message form the Ukraine's defence minister calling back home all Ukrainian servicemen of the fleet only 24 out of 86 Ukrainian marines agreed to leave, while the rest expressed their readiness to remain in Poti.

Admiral Baltin rejected rumours about losses amongst the marines, saying that for the past ten days only one of them had been slightly wounded.

The marines themselves never opened fire to kill, he stressed.

According to the admiral, the marines are still on duty in Poti, but "ready to leave it within several hours when there is no longer need for our assistance".

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Nov

LD2311074493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0649 GMT 23 Nov 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on a meeting between German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Russian President Boris Yeltsin:

"While fully supporting the Russian president's policy of reforms, Bonn criticises those Western politicians who, in its view, are much too facile in finding flaws in the new draft fundamental law of Russia".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on possible strategic partnership between Russia and the U.S. in defence matters.

The newspaper, under the headline "Rapprochement of Russian and U.S. Defence Policies and Strategic Partnership Are Both Possible and Desirable", today runs a joint survey, made by Russian and U.S. experts, of the two countries' defence policies and their drawing closer together.

"Close cooperation will enable the world's two leading military establishments to carry out or support international peacekeeping operations with the use of their leading positions in space communications and intelligence means, air transportation facilities, jetfighter aviation, air defence, armour, as well as in a number of other areas," the authors of the survey point out.

"If Russia and the United States will be able to gradually achieve the coordination of ultimate goals by their defence agencies and means to attain them, they would thereby avert some of the most serious dangers of the recent decades of the nuclear age from us," the survey said.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on the combat training of the Russian Army.

The newspaper carries an article by military news analyst Alexsandr Mamushkin:

"The laws of the present world order stipulate: in order to be strong in politics, one should be strong economically and militarily".

Emphasising the importance of the combat training of the army, the analyst writes: "the Americans are well aware of that... They hold exercises, simulating combat operations against a 'foe' whose units are organised in a way that strikingly resemble that of Russian troops". The analyst draws attention to the fact that "in Poland, for example, the air defence system in the the eastward sector is being modernised with the aid of Western experts." "I am far from thinking that a reversion to the Cold-War times is under way. But one should realistically estimate the situation taking shape in the world regardless of whoever and however much anyone swears eternal friendship with us," Manushkin points out.

TRUD carries an interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Touching upon the effectiveness of the work of the government, in which various electoral blocs and movements are now represented, Chernomyrdin pointed out that there are no contradictions between members of the cabinet.

"A government programme has been adopted. None of my colleagues had any principled objections to it. In point of fact, this is as if the model of a coalition government: its members adhere to various political positions but work concertedly. Although, it is, of course, necessary to raise government efficiency", Chernomyrdin said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on a settlement of the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict.

"Yerevan Is Convinced That the Incident Involving the Ambassador of the Russian Federation Was Provoked by Azerbaijan" is the headline under which the newspaper runs an article from Armenia.

In an article from Azerbaijan, the newspaper points out: "the republic's Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov has criticised a new time-table for a settlement of the conflict". "We are dissatisfied with the fact that under Armenia's pressure the Minsk CSCE group did not include a point about the destiny of Lachin and Shusha territories in its document", Gasanov is quoted by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA as saying. He lays full blame for the incident involving Russian diplomat vladimir Kazimirov on the leadership of Armenia.

"All that happened notwithstanding the fact tht Armenia itself fixed a place and time for the Russian ambassador to cross the border", Azerbaijan's foreign minister told the newspaper.

Filatov Meets With Gore at White House

LD2311100993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0945 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Chukseyev]

[Text] Washington November 23 TASS—U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore received Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, in the White House on Monday [22 November]. Filatov is currently paying a working visit here.

Interviewed by ITAR-TASS, Filatov described the talk as "good". He said it focused on the situation in Russia and quoted the U.S. vice-president as saying that his country was backing everything that was going on in Russia, including the actions of the president, the progress of the election campaign, and the elaboration of a new constitution. At the same time, it was noted that the American press and television were expressing concern about some deviations witnessed in Russia. This refers primarily to the situation in the mass media. "The view was expressed," Filatov stated, "that this concern could affect the administration, too."

The talk touched on the upcoming visit by the U.S. vice-president to Moscow, expected to take place in mid-December. Gore is preparing for it very carefully. "I, for my part," Filatov said, "told the vice-president that we were exerting efforts to make the election campaign fair."

The subject of the upcoming Russian elections and the draft of the new constitution also figured largely during other meetings in the White House, where Filatov has spent a whole day. He had talks with Chief of Staff of the White House Thomas McLarty, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Anthony Lake, and Special Assistant to the President for the Affairs of Newly Independent States Burns. Filatov also met Assistant to the President and Director for Legislative Affairs Howard G. Paster, Councillor to the President David Gergen, and Special Adviser to the President for Policy and Strategy George Stephanopoulos.

Filatov described as "emotionally difficult" the meeting he had on November 22 with representatives of the American association of relatives of passengers of the Korean Airlines plane shot down by Soviet fighters over Sakhalin. "I told them that an official commission, set up in Russia to investigate the accident, had completed its work and had drawn up a report. Our conclusions almost completely coincide with the conclusion of an International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) that the crew of the Korean plane was to blame for the incident. But I also said that the Russian side did not want to put an end to the investigation and was ready to cooperate in order to clarify everything to the very end. For instance, we are ready to take part in additional underwater investigations and have also reaffirmed our intention to carve out land for a monument to the victims of the disaster," Filatov stated.

In conclusion, Filatov said that the meeting was marked by an atmosphere of good will. "The main thing," he stressed, "is that we have not turned down the idea of holding it, although there were differing views on whether it was necessary or not. The Russian Embassy was charged with the task of further promoting our cooperation."

Implications of NAFTA Ratification Assessed

MK1911115093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Karen Khachaturov under the "Carte Blanche" rubric: "NAFTA Begins Life. Clinton Plays Mexican Card, Weakens Russian One"]

[Text] Not only the Russian president, but his American counterpart too has promised his countrymen a "fall offensive." The goal of this offensive in the United States was to have the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) ratified by the House of Representatives. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has reported (see the issue of 20 August) on this ambitious plan for creating the largest common market in the world, involving United States, Canada, and Mexico with an annual trade turnover of $6.4 trillion. Despite forecasts that did not favor Bill Clinton, on 17 November the House of Representatives said "Yes" to NAFTA by a 234-200 vote; this has been the president's biggest success both in foreign and domestic policy.

The president was helped by his steadfastness, resolve, what he called a "missionary" large-scale campaign aimed at explaining the benefits of NAFTA, the effort to shape public opinion as a whole and by parts, including each unreliable congressman, and also the ingenuity and logic of Vice President Albert Gore during a televised debate. Here are the main arguments in favor of NAFTA: the agreement will help raise the gross domestic product and create new jobs, and it will also help expand economic integration under the U.S. aegis onto the entire Western hemisphere in the longer run.

Particular importance was attached to playing the Mexican card. Presently, Mexico is the United States' most important trade partner. An average Mexican spends annually $450 to buy American-made goods—more than in any other country except Canada—and this figure will rise after customs tariffs are reduced and later eliminated. By 1995, the two countries' bilateral trade may reach $60 billion. Integration with Mexico will make it possible to press Asian competitors from the U.S. domestic market somewhat and will make its willful southern neighbor more compliant.

Clinton and his entourage depicted dire prospects if NAFTA was not ratified. "I can tell everybody with assurance that the consequences of turning down this agreement would have been disastrous, tantamount to inviting the U.S.' competitors from Europe and Asia to settle down in Mexico," Secretary of State Warren Christopher asserted. Listing six strategic priorities of U.S.

foreign policy at the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, he mentioned economic security first, with NAFTA taking priority within it. Clinton emphasized that a rejection of NAFTA would jeopardize the U.S. leadership role. The president warned: "We may lose not only economic, but also political opportunities to promote democracy, freedom, and stability in our hemisphere." On the eve of ratification, former secretaries of state and Presidents Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and George Bush came together to the White House to give their backing to Clinton in public. Within a short period of time he managed to win over many intransigent congressmen.

NAFTA has caused a split in the Democratic Party, whose majority in the House of Representatives opposed the agreement. According to assessments by a substantial part of congressmen, NAFTA threatens the United States because: the transfer of businesses to Mexico with its much cheaper labor force will boost unemployment at home at a time of unfavorable economic conditions in the world; the effects of an industrial boom in northern Mexico will be an environmental hazard for neighboring U.S. states; the lifting of customs restrictions will render Mexico a transshipment point for drug trafficking. It does not behoove the bulwark of world democracy to unite itself with a neighbor where corruption is rife and where power has been monopolized by one political party for over six decades. David Bonior, Democratic whip in the House of Representatives, who headed NAFTA opponents in the House, commented on skeptical sentiments with regard to the agreement as follows: "We should strive to bring Mexico's living standards up to ours, not let our standards drop down to Mexico's." "My state will not benefit from this" was how Kent Conrad, Democratic Senator from North Dakota, summed up most congressmen's negative attitude to integration with Mexico. When the voting was under way, their electorates and the trade union weight of the influential AFL-CIO were invisibly standing behind each legislator.

The rather unfavorable—for Clinton—consequences of backing away from the ratification of NAFTA were also discernible in the longer run. First of all, this would have meant the President's personal defeat, which would have sent his approval rating, already damaged by his bungling in Somalia and Haiti, plummeting both at home and particularly in Mexico. That country pins hopes on NAFTA for achieving the United States' current economic level in three decades or so. President Salinas de Gortari, who has been betting on NAFTA, started speaking about the need to diversify Mexico's economic ties, including with Japan, on ratification's eve. NAFTA's failure would have played into the hands of large South American countries. Brazil sees NAFTA as an obstacle on the path of South America's integration. Argentina has been justifiably concerned over its agricultural exports to the United States and Mexico. Canada, too, which considers itself an odd man out in NAFTA, would have hardly been dissatisfied, given that there has always been opposition to the agreement in the country and that the new prime minister, Jean Chretien, has been urging its renegotiation. Clinton's weakening at home would not have helped his already timid support for reform in Russia, given that NAFTA would impose certain restrictions on our country's as yet paltry trade with the troika of NAFTA signatories.

Presently, however, all the negative fallout that might have been produced by NAFTA's failure is a thing of the past. The most formidable barrier has been surmounted. The Senate has a more positive view on the agreement than the House. In Canada, the agreement has been approved by parliament, and what remains to be done is a pure formality—a signature by the governor general. In Mexico, ratification is all but sealed. So, NAFTA has embarked on a bumpy, but promising road.

Congressional Ratification Viewed

PM1911143993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition pp 1,3

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "U.S. Congress Ratifies Treaty Changing Face of Continent. World's Largest Market Formed"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. President Bill Clinton has won his latest major victory in domestic policy which is dear to his heart, even though it was a question of the ratification of the international North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA] treaty. By 234 votes to 200 the Congress House of Representatives ratified the agreement on the North American Free Trade zone, which includes Canada and Mexico in addition to the United States.

The name of President Clinton is not formally associated with this treaty. At the time it was signed Clinton was still governor of Arkansas. But then came the legislators' turn. Of course, people on Capitol Hill, like their other parliamentary colleagues, can formally rubber-stamp any decision. But NAFTA is a different kettle of fish. As of 1 January next year when the treaty comes into force NAFTA will directly affect the lives of millions of Americans. And it does not end there.

Of those who signed it only Mexican President Salinas de Gortari has kept his post. The other two leaders, U.S. President Bush and Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, have added the sad prefix "ex" to their lofty titles. But President Clinton fought so vigorously, tirelessly, and resourcefully for the treaty, which his predecessor and rival signed, that even George Bush could hardly fault this work that he has done.

However, the ratification of NAFTA by both houses of Congress remained cause for particular alarm for the president right up to the last day. It was only the public television debate involving Ross Perot and Vice President Al Gore that enabled the administration to draw breath for a moment.

Ross Perot is the billionaire who polled several million votes in the last presidential elections, a talker and tireless debater, and earned from former president J. Carter the lable of demagogue. And he mustered all his stock of knowledge, wrath, colored illustrations, and sarcasm, against the vice president—and was trounced in front of the whole nation.

The Canadian parliament ratified the treaty back in June. The new Liberal majority, which literally pulverized the ruling Conservative Party in the recent elections, has not hitherto reaffirmed its previous threats to "review certain provisions" of NAFTA. The first morning after the victory Clinton telephoned the new Canadian Premier Jean Chretien and congratulated him on his victory and said something else, after which the victor did not say another word about NAFTA—as if he had totally lost interest in it.

Unlike the Canadians, Mexican legislators have not so far had their say. However, they are making no secret of the fact that their country will not hold things up. It was not for nothing that the Mexican Government allocated $30 million to lobbying for the treaty. The Mexicans are very hopeful that the way to a common market will be eased by foreign investment and the advantages afforded by a cheap work force.

And that is what is frightening the Americans. I do not think that the word "Canada" was heard at all during the 12-hour debate. The impression is that all the Americans' disquiet and suspicions were focused "down" south, on torrid Mexico.

The main objections voiced by NAFTA's opponents are to do with the fact that the cheapness of the Mexican work force, the primitive environmental protection, the low standard of living, and what the U.S. considers a far from perfect democracy will not boost Mexico, but cause a decline in U.S. standards. Americans' jobs will go south and capital will flow away in that direction.

But all the surviving U.S. ex-Presidents (there are five of them), all the former secretaries of state, all the national security advisers, and a host of other senior officials say with one voice that NAFTA will benefit the entire continent, that is, the United States as well.

Although the majestic edifice of the world's most powerful economic community gleams at the end of the NAFTA road, it is envisaged that the unification of the three national economies will be slow and gradual, in short, there will be no surgery, just natural selection [selektsiya].

One Republican gave the following explanation Wednesday for the support that representatives from his party gave to the Democrat Clinton. He recalled the statement made by Franklin Roosevelt, who said that legislators have a duty to support a president when he is right and the responsibility to oppose him when he is mistaken. "The overwhelming majority of Republicans back President Clinton because he is right in this instance," this member of the House of Representatives said.

However, the greater proportion of those Democrats who refused the president their vote also attributed their stance to the same principles articulated by F. Roosevelt. Fine as this quotation sounds, the fact remains that the Republicans have joined forces in support of Clinton, while the Democrats have split.

But victory was more important for Bill Clinton than intraparty accord. It was not for nothing that he switched the order of the treaty [dogovor] on public health and NAFTA. As soon as it became clear that reform of public health would get bogged down in debate and that free North American trade was winning parliamentary support, the president changed the order of the moves overnight.

After the ballot President Clinton spoke on television. Addressing Americans from the White House, he said that this treaty is in U.S. interests and will make it possible to create more jobs and increase sales of U.S. automobiles and computers. "We have boldly chosen competition rather than retreat," the president said, after which he briefly mentioned the results of the two world wars. After World War I the United States created a protective trade barrier against the rest of the world "and the result was the great depression." After World War II the country opted for a totally different path, opening its borders to trade and reorganizing the economies of its recent enemies. The upshot was that U.S. workers became the most productive in the world.

Thursday morning the president is going to Seattle, where the leaders of the 15 leading countries in the Asian-Pacific region are to meet. Specialists believe that it is quite likely that the United States will effect a strategic shift away from a predominantly European orientation toward the "young tigers" of the East Asian economy.

Russia's representatives are not taking part in these talks.

Shokhin: No Need for Pre-Election G-7 Meeting

LD2211221893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2139 GMT 22 Nov 93

[by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—There is no need to hold a G-7 foreign and finance ministers meeting in Moscow before the parliamentary elections scheduled for December 12, Russian Vice-Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin said.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on Monday, Shokhin said that "from the propagandistic point of view this could have a certain effect. But we are more concerned

about ironing out questions concerning the second tranche of the system credit in January next year. Additionally, U.S. President Bill Clinton will pay a visit to Moscow in January, which we believe will bear a coordinating element of the G-7 countries' positive influence on Russian reform."

However, he did not rule out the possibility that such a meeting could be held in Moscow in early February in order to coordinate the efforts of the G-7 states and international financial organisations aimed at supporting Russian reform.

"We hope that in the beginning of December the last round of talks will be held in Moscow on cooperation between the EC and Moscow. A big role in this question could be played by Germany, this 'locomotive' of integration processes in Europe," Shokhin stressed.

"We hope that Bonn's constructive position will help solve the problems which have arisen because of unconstructive approaches of other countries which compete with Russia in some spheres," he said.

Paper Cited on Status in COCOM Successor

PM2211151393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Naumov: "COCOM: Tolls the Bell Heralding the Imminent Demise of This Vestige of the Cold War"]

[Excerpts] A few days ago the Netherlands—the country which for the last two years has chaired the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (widely known to Russian readers by the abbreviation COCOM)—hosted the last meeting of its representatives. The imminent termination (at the end of March next year) of the activities of this vestige of the Cold War was announced at it. [passage omitted]

COCOM will soon disappear, and it will be little mourned. The Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations have played a part in making this happen. But, in my view, it is too early to rest easy. Representatives of the Russian foreign economic department themselves believe that even more effort is required to ensure that Russia's representative in the new international organization is not there merely for "decorative" purposes but is an equal participant among a COCOM team molded together by time.

Butrus-Ghali Briefed on Military Doctrine

PM2211163593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report from the "From Our News Bureau" column: "Russian Federation's Military Doctrine Focus of Attention"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's message to the UN secretary general on the new military doctrine has aroused great interest in UN circles. Journalists accredited to UN Headquarters asked Russia's permanent representative, Andrey Vorontsov, to explain the significance of the message conveyed to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov.

"The Russian deputy foreign minister spoke about Russia's new military doctrine, which contains a special chapter devoted to UN peacekeeping operations," Vorontsov noted. It gives a very positive assessment of such operations. At the same time it mentions peacemaking operations within the bounds of the former Soviet Union by agreement among the CIS states. That, in Vorontsov's opinion, will form an additional element in peacekeeping actions.

Shaposhnikov on Disarmament, Military Policy

LD2111181293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1311 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Author's Channel of Russia's Radio is on the air. Presenter Nataliya Bekhtina is in the studio. As I said at the beginning of our program today, the Author's Channel has a new guest every hour. You have just had an opportunity to talk to political analyst Aleksey Vasilyevich Kiva. Now in the studio of Author's Channel is Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov.

[Bekhtina] [passage omitted] Numerous initiatives were undertaken first by the Soviet Union and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and then by Russia. Many international disarmament treaties were signed in the most serious military spheres—missiles, for example. Many Russians are left somewhat confused, they have some doubts. Have we been left unarmed and unprotected in the face of a military threat, for example, from the West? What can you say on the issue?

[Shaposhnikov] Thank you and good afternoon. I will answer the question with pleasure. Yes, indeed, there is such an opinion among the public that we are opening ourselves up too much, that we are disarming ourselves too much. There are two sides to this matter. First, it is necessary to disarm. We should slightly rebalance our budgets toward the national economy in the interests of the people. On the other hand, things should not be done harum-scarum. You know, it is our habit—Russians have already got an image that one beats someone to death, one drinks themselves to tears, one loves forever. It seems to me one should not deviate from a normal evolutionary process based on preserving one's own interests, bearing in mind the interests of other countries, the interests of mankind as a whole, so to speak, and tackles these problems in a smooth and quiet way.

Nevertheless, in my opinion, things in this respect are sometimes being carried too far. First, under Gorbachev we signed START I. I think we were right to do so since we had accumulated such amounts of arms that could eliminate dozens of planets similar to Earth. What for, one might ask? Second, the armed forces and armaments

of general purpose. We had so many of them that it looked as if we were going to fight against the whole world. I want to ask our listeners, just for myself. Can any single state conquer the whole world? I think not. We were saying that we had Japanese and Americans in the east, Turks and Iranians in the south, NATO and Americans in the west and, again, Americans in the north. This was our ideology, this was our mentality.

Of course we should mutually reduce armaments. But we should not do this in such haste. What exaggerations do I mean? We signed START I. Let us implement it before the end of the century and then deal with START II. No, already new Russian structures were saying let's do START II as soon as possible. It seems to me we should not hurry these matters. This is first.

[Bekhtina] Moreover there are people behind all this and not simply piles of arms.

[Shaposhnikov] Absolutely. Now let us talk about people. Let us take the withdrawal of our troops from the countries of eastern Europe. On the whole, this is a useful thing to do from the viewpoint of our reputation, and not only that. We cannot stay there forever. But we should be leaving these countries under certain conditions and not to the detriment of ourselves.

I do not know whether this is true but I have heard that when journalists asked Margaret Thatcher—incidentally, the British Army was stationed in West Germany at the time and it is still stationed there, but in the FRG and not in West Germany—Margaret Thatcher was asked how many years it would take—there are just under 100,000 people there—how many years would it take to withdraw the British Army to the British Isles? Margaret Thatcher allegedly replied that it would take 10-12 years. And we are talking about 100,000 people here. We want to withdraw a 500,000- strong grouping in three-four years, just to show someone how kind we are and how good we are.

Now let us turn to troop withdrawal from the Baltics. I believe that this is the issue purely for Russia and the Baltics to deal with, and for no one else. You see, it turns out we have got a lot of advisers who say: Go on, withdraw. If you d not, you will see what happens, and if you do, there might be some aid coming. Now listen, if you are so concerned about our good, why don't you stop talking and build—free of charge—a couple of dozen garrisons on Russian territory, on the sites we indicate. Then we will thank you and withdraw. But we do not have to catalyze it, we don't have to encroach upon our own interests in this matter. At the same time, the process of cuts in the armed forces and in weapons, both in Europe and in other regions of the world, are natural and right, and we cannot do without them.

It seems to me that the time is now coming when new politicians will emerge, who will be capable of solving all the most difficult problems by peaceful political means, but not to the detriment of their own interests, naturally.

[Bekhtina] This must be the most difficult part.

[Shaposhnikov] It surely is. Easiest of all is to bang your fist and say: That is what I have decided, and that is it. So what next? Spill blood again? Because if we weigh a politician's success in winning a war against a politician's success in averting war, it is always the latter that will carry more weight, since here there areno tears, no suffering, and so on.

Turning now to our military doctrine...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] Yes, there is a lot of talk about the military doctrine, even though it has not yet been published in full.

[Shaposhnikov] A summary has been published, and I do not think the doctrine will be published in any other form.

[Bekhtina] The public probably does not really need it.

[Shaposhnikov] When I worked at the Russian Security Council, I must say bluntly that I was opposed to adopting this doctrine at this stage. I have my reasons, and if our listeners are interested I can explain. It is because one has to proceed from the simple to the complex, or from the general to the particular. If we proceed from the general to the particular, we will see that unfortunately we still do not know what we are, where we are going, and what our ultimate goals are. Unfortunately, no one in the Russian leadership has yet expounded on that. On the one hand, they say it is not going to be socialism, but on the other hand they are not prepared to say it is going to be capitalism.

I realize that we will not be content with any social system now in existence, be it American, Swedish, Canadian, French, Japanese, or any other. We are Russia. Catherine II once said Russia is a universe in its own right. We have our traditions, our habits and ways, something peculiarly Russian—it's only natural, what else can you expect? However, one should probably say what we are aiming for. And as long as this has not been spelled out, I think it's hard to speak of national security. As soon as our interests, at least for the next couple of decades, are clearly determined, then we will be able to say: Yes, for these interests to be met, we need this particular system of security. That is to say, the blueprint for national security should follow from the blueprint for the development of the Russian state. In other words, we will have to say: These are our interests, these are the possible threats and dangers to our interests, and from this you get a blueprint, a doctrine, including the economic doctrine, the ecological doctrine, the foreign policy doctrine, the federal doctrine, dealing with internal matters, military doctrine, and so on.

A doctrine in turn generates strategy. The former is a system of views, the latter a line of conduct, explaining by what means we will have to implement all this. Strategy is complemented by tactics and operational

skill, that is such matters as decrees, orders, and instructions, through which it is carried out on the day, but always in line with the general global direction.

[Bekhtina] This is great. You explained that very well, I understood everything, and I think that our listeners understood it too. One more military question, or better to say, not a military question but a question connected with some military interests and problems which, finally, concern all citizens. My question is about relations, in particular in the military sphere, between Russia and Ukraine. Ukraine has a large quantity of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of these weapons is connected of course with spending enormous sums of money. This is a difficult problem for Ukraine, which at the present time is in a complex economic situation, in a very difficult situation. It cannot afford it now, I mean to separate and destroy warheads. How would you answer this question?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, I am very sorry that we do not have enough time today, because I could speak about this problem for a very long time; I suppose that there is no other man in our country or even in the CIS countries who himself has experienced, as I have, all the charms, in quotation marks, of this separation of the defense space and the armed forces, etc. I would like to say that everything seemed to be attractive and understandable for a normal person when we first set up the CIS, when the first documents were under preparation. I mean that it was clear that a united defense space and united strategic forces would exist. But at the same time, the processes of the unrestrained privatization of the army, separation, taking the oath, and so on have started. The army should be international as far as the staff and the spirit are concerned. And my task, was neither to keep together the Soviet Union nor the Soviet Army, but to unify positions to their maximum, on all questions, in order not to be divided into Russians and non- Russians. We can go too far in this respect. We should not have divided something which was impossible to divide—I mean our spirit, our stereotypes of thinking which are still with us, and which we can do nothing about. I mean also our united air defense system and anti-missile defense system, the system of ordering equipment and armaments, including these strategic nuclear missile weapons.

However, I have the impression that when the CIS was set up, our leaders rushed to the point of no return. We have such a notion in aviation, in particular, when an aircraft is moving from point a to point b at the maximum distance, somewhere en route, approximately in the middle, a point of return is determined. It means that he can return to his airport from this point or from any other point, up to this limit. There is no other way. Otherwise he will have to look for something else. So, everybody rushed to this point of no return, and now they are saying that we are already there, nothing can be done, we must look for another landing place. But do we have another landing place? Do we know what to expect in this landing place? Do we know the weather and other conditions there? Is it possible to land there at all? My wish is to keep everything in one hand and to find mechanisms.

I made a lot of different proposals which were satisfactory for every side. Nevertheless, nobody is listening to me, they are talking only about separation without limits. I believe that this concerns the economy and the strategic forces and many other things. I thought that we were setting up the CIS in order to throw off this ideology, which has always kept us close to the ground, and which has not given us the opportunity to do what we wanted, to build human relations between the states in order to live better in the CIS than in the Soviet Union. Maybe, this is the right way. But we should not forge on ahead trying to get back to the old road as fast as we can.

[Bekhtina] Regardless of obstacles?

[Shaposhnikov] Indeed. Therefore, of course, it is on the one hand a test of endurance. On the other hand, I hate it when politicians, leaders, certain forces, create conditions which make the people suffer again. There has been enough suffering. Is it really impossible to lead a normal and calm life, and so on and so forth? Once again the image of the enemy arises. God forbid we should allow that filth, pardon me for that expression, to infect the Russian and Ukrainian peoples! What will happen then? Who will thank us later on? Therefore, I think that the key is to be found here. That matter should not be abandoned half-way. One should work constantly as far as strategic forces are concerned. Okay, let them be unified. Let there be reductions under the START I Treaty—just as Ukraine said; it promised to be free of nuclear weapons by the end of the century. Now they are saying: Give us money to do that, give us this, give us that, give us guarantees. Okay, there will be guarantees. We don't have the kind of money Ukraine is asking for. However, we can reprocess nuclear fuel into industrial plutonium and make partial deliveries of it to Ukraine's nuclear power stations. There are a whole host of possible versions and solutions. But why...

[Bekhtina, interrupting] There are in life probably many versions and solutions which come into one's head too late, for one reason or another, or which one does not think of at all—sensible, reasonable, and sober approaches.

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to return to the question of politicians who are to be born in our time.

[Bekhtina, laughing] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, yes.

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to give one very important example here, in my view. World War II is over and we Russians, Americans, British, French, Australians, and New Zealanders, defeated fascism, did we not? Would it seem that the foundations for a new world order exist, for a normal mankind exist? No! It is namely the leaders of our state—in the person of Stalin—and Churchill and others who stated that communism is the enemy. Stalin

said that imperialism is the enemy—just listen, that label, imperialism, was stuck on entire states, entire peoples, entire regions—and we insult them by dubbing them as the enemy. Well, is that really a worthy thing for a person to do? These politicians who tar other peoples with the brush of the enemy should be settled in separate reservations, given a thousand toy tanks each, toy airplanes, and millions of toy soldiers, and let each of them think that he is Napoleon or Hitler! [passage omitted]

Grachev Discusses CSCE, NATO Issues

LD2211224693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2113 GMT 22 Nov 93

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[Text] Bern, 22 Nov—The Russian military doctrine is of a purely defensive nature, and no states are seen by Russia as hostile, Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said here at a news conference devoted to his talks today with Swiss Confederation Defense Minister Kaspar Villiger. During the meeting, the Russian minister noted, issues of broadening bilateral cooperation and reinforcing European security were discussed. Both Russia and Switzerland have an interest in international cooperation toward preventing armed conflict and reducing tension in the world.

Speaking at the news conference, K. Villiger gave a positive assessment of the nature of the discussion, which allowed both sides to become better acquainted with the reforms under way in their armed forces. It was decided that officer exchanges at a high level should be made and seminars organized. A joint tour of places connected with Suvorov's legendary campaign in 1799 is planned for Russian and Swiss servicemen.

It was stressed that both Russia and Switzerland are very interested in strengthening the interaction between European states within the framework of the CSCE. Answering the ITAR-TASS correspondent, P. Grachev said that the CSCE has not outlived itself and that Russia is in favor of increasing the effectiveness of this body. "The aim is not to acknowledge what has already happened, but to implement measures to prevent conflicts," he said. "As for the cooperation between Russia and Switzerland within the CSCE, our views are mostly the same." According to K. Villiger, the confederation is in favor of increasing the role of the CSCE because of its all-European nature.

During the news conference, special attention was paid to the role of NATO. K. Villiger noted that Switzerland, which has a policy of neutrality, will not express any official view on the possible expansion of NATO. At the same time, the republic has greeted with interest the initiative of the U.S. defense secretary with regard to creating new types of relations of the neutral countries with NATO in settling specific problems. A debate on this matter is now going on in Switzerland.

Answering one of the journalists about Moscow's view on the possibility of the Baltics joining NATO, P. Grachev said: "Russia does not approve of any expansion of NATO to other states, including the Baltics. However, we have no right to interfere in the affairs of a sovereign state. It is up to them to decide what they join and why. Naturally, we are not afraid of the possible joining of NATO by the Baltic states. We will then take the necessary defensive steps in that direction."

The Russian minister was asked quite a few questions about the possibility of deployment of Russian armed forces on the territory of CIS states in the light of the new military doctrine. P. Grachev said such deployment by no means signifies that the army is planning to "occupy" someone. The establishment of Russian military bases on the territory of any state is possible only in the event of it so wishing. At the same time, it is primarily a question of states which have signed the collective security treaty. As an example the head of the military department cited Armenia, whose leadership has announced their desire to have some Russian bases on their territory in the future. "As far as I know, the Georgian leadership is already working on these questions, and the leadership of Tajikistan is not against having a contingent of Russian armed forces on the territory of the republic." The deployment of armed forces and bases would be effected by treaty. Countries wishing to have Russian forces on their territory would have to undertake the solution of questions of providing for them.

P. Grachev announced that in the near future the full content of the Russian military doctrine will be conveyed to the Swiss authorities through the embassy of the Russian Federation in Bern.

Chernomyrdin Views NATO Membership, Debt Trap

AU2211173793 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Nov 93 pp 178-182

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin by Olaf Ihlau, Joerg R. Mettke, Christian Neef, and Andrey Batrak in Moscow; date not given: "They Here With Us, We With You"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Viktor Stepanovich, where would you be today if the Khasbulatov forces had won in the bloody power struggle in Moscow at the beginning of October?

[Chernomyrdin] At best, where Khasbulatov is now—in prison. But I would probably be dead, just like many others.

[DER SPIEGEL] On 4 October your government liquidated the power of the soviets. Does capitalism now begin its unhindered run of victory throughout Russia?

[Chernomyrdin] This is a very complicated process, as generations grew up with the soviets. Their thinking and

acting is rooted in this time. Do not be deceived: A lot must still be done to overcome the period of the soviets.

[DER SPIEGEL] What must be done specifically?

[Chernomyrdin] Banning the soviets alone is not enough. Take our 30 million retirees, many of whom have gone through the war and the reconstruction. After all, 80 percent of them were communists. And private property cannot be created by the stroke of a pen, either. Signs at factories can be changed quickly, but the change in mentality needs time. The Germans see that in their new laender.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is this another call for the new man?

[Chernomyrdin] At least for men who know what to do with property.

[DER SPIEGEL] This sounds like resignation.

[Chernomyrdin] It is not meant that way. There are only two possibilities: To wait until the new class of entrepreneurs has developed, or to influence events. This is what we are trying to do with many new laws. A model of new relations must develop in this process. Of course, this will be different from in Germany or Austria for instance. Conditions in Russia are fundamentally different.

[DER SPIEGEL] How long can people still be expected to tolerate radical market economy reforms, which cause increasing impoverishment among broad strata of the population?

[Chernomyrdin] We hope that we will pass the lowest point of the economy next year....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...almost one out of three people in Russia currently lives at subsistence level.

[Chernomyrdin] Unfortunately, this is true. However, the ruble is no longer falling and wages are rising. We have been able to slow down the decline in production many times. New forms of property and structural changes are beginning to become effective just now. A total of 80 percent of large and medium-sized companies still belong to the state. Gradually, they are turning into shareholding companies. As Ludwig Erhard did in your country in the past, we want to promote medium-sized companies, because they are the ones that can, most likely, fill our markets with goods and thus put an end to poverty.

[DER SPIEGEL] What are you going to do with the state companies that run high deficits? You have 4,000 arms companies alone, with more than 6 million employees. Not all of them will be able to change over to the production of wheelchairs or tractors.

[Chernomyrdin] First of all, we have to sort out those that are able to survive and those that are hopeless. Wherever improvement is conceivable, something else may be produced, if possible, and perhaps a different management will be appointed. A law on bankrupt companies has been passed. However, we see that layoffs and unemployment are very unusual in our society. This has different significance here from in the West.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many companies will have to close down in the long run?

[Chernomyrdin] Estimates still differ very much. In individual industrial branches there are already initial closures and mergers. We are not afraid of that. However, there is one problem: What should one do with an unprofitable mine, on which an entire mining colony lives? What to do with an arms company, around which a large town has been built?

[DER SPIEGEL] When you became head of government a year ago, a privatization concept already existed. Have you been able to change much of it?

[Chernomyrdin] This is not a simple question. I guarantee that no precipitate decisions are made any more. I am against campaigns with the slogan "everything and everything immediately." Basically, the privatization concept is correct. It just has to be implemented pragmatically: quickly but without haste.

[DER SPIEGEL] Boris Yeltsin has just criticized your government for implementing the reforms too slowly. Are there differences between you and the president about the speed of the reforms?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course there are. However, I, too, am dissatisfied with the speed of the reforms. The months of September and October with the political power struggles did not permit sensible work. In this respect, I accept the criticism. Nothing is disturbing us now. The Supreme Soviet no longer exists.

[DER SPIEGEL] In PRAVDA's view, when you assumed office "healthy common sense" came to the helm. Others see you as the lobbyist of the arms industry. How do you like such assessments?

[Chernomyrdin] I really do not look like a sick man. I have never had anything to do with the arms industry complex, but with the directors' corps. I was the director of a corporation and minister. Therefore, I noticed earlier than others that things could not proceed as they were doing. By the end of the 1980's I had already turned the natural gas industry into shareholding companies and invested a lot of energy in joint ventures with German companies. Socialism had exhausted itself, and enthusiasm alone was not enough to achieve things.

[DER SPIEGEL] Now your president is hoping for a new, cooperative parliament of experts. You, on the other hand, have expressed the fear that it will continue to pursue "the split into different camps." What is the reason for your pessimism?

[Chernomyrdin] I am not pessimistic. We want a parliament of professionals, which works with great concentration for two years and lives up to the current tasks. The 13 political organizations that are running for seats,

however, are hastily assembled election alliances and not stable parties. In parliament there will certainly be a new distribution of power. I hope that confrontations can be avoided in this, which would again split the country.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your deputy, radical reformer Yegor Gaydar, would like to get your job. Will it be possible for you to remain prime minister?

[Chernomyrdin] I do not see anybody else. Any change in the government leadership would be detrimental.

[DER SPIEGEL] The new Constitution clearly strengthens central power, above all that of the president. The losers are the regions.

[Chernomyrdin] The power of the president is indeed strengthened. Still, parliament has sufficient powers. It can veto presidential decisions. For instance, the president must not dissolve the Duma, the new parliament.....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...not during the first year, but during the second.

[Chernomyrdin] Then there would remain only 12 months, and it would hardly be worth it. In any case, the president is not omnipotent. And a certain concentration of power is necessary.

[DER SPIEGEL] Two years after the end of the Soviet Union, many of your CIS neighbors increasingly get the impression that Moscow wants to reestablish the old dependence through economic pressure.

[Chernomyrdin] Such impressions are wrong. There is not a single example of any imperial ambitions on Russia's part.

[DER SPIEGEL] We do have an example: You have just asked the United Nations for special authorization to ensure peace and quiet on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

[Chernomyrdin] Russia should certainly be accepted as a guarantor of stability in the area.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, you are claiming some sort of right to intervene?

[Chernomyrdin] Of course not. The CIS countries themselves want us to act as the guarantor. Who else could do it—Armenia, for instance? This has absolutely nothing to do with dependence. If one knew what the Chernomyrdin government is giving to these republics....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...may we hear that?

[Chernomyrdin] Ukraine alone owes us 1 trillion rubles and still gets more goods delivered. Where else is something like that possible? There are hardly any repayments. Our questions as to when they will finally begin repaying their debts are rarely heeded. Our CIS neighbors have no reason to be dissatisfied with us.

[DER SPIEGEL] At least Estonia's President Meri takes a different view. He fears that Moscow is developing some sort of Monroe Doctrine for a sphere of influence in the "near abroad." Estonia would be happy if the last Russian soldier were to leave the country as soon as possible. You have halted the withdrawal.

[Chernomyrdin] Estonia has obviously not learned to fulfill its obligations. It could take Germany as an example, which is providing apartments for our withdrawing soldiers, as was agreed. There everything is going according to plan. There are also agreements with Estonia and Latvia. But they are not observing these agreements. And the Russian-speaking population in these countries is being discriminated against. A total of 60,000 retirees are treated as if they were not human: no suffrage, hardly any other rights. And then they are supposed to learn Estonian in their old age. Is that observance of human rights? We, on the other hand, do not stop our deliveries to Estonia, despite the country's debts. Meri would not tell me what he told you.

[DER SPIEGEL] But, on principle, you do not think that the idea of spheres of influence is a bad one?

[Chernomyrdin] It is very bad. I do not want to exert influence but live with goodneighborly relations. With all our neighbors. No one can accuse me or Yeltsin of behaving like colonial overlords.

[DER SPIEGEL] Not even the Georgians, who are watching with concern how Russia exploits their situation to regain its old influence in the Caucasus region?

[Chernomyrdin] In this room, Eduard Shevardnadze practically begged for Russian troops actively to intervene. If we had agreed to that, we would have long been involved in the bloodshed there. We told Shevardnadze: This is your internal affair. You can get foodstuffs, energy, and technical equipment from us, everything that you need. But the Russians will never wage war against the Georgians.

[DER SPIEGEL] And none of your neighboring states needs to be afraid of your new military doctrine, which envisages a settling of conflicts in Moscow's spirit on CIS territory?

[Chernomyrdin] The most important thing about our military doctrine is: We do not see any enemy, and we do not want any enemy. Now it is important to restructure the army in line with its new tasks.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nevertheless, some of your former fraternal countries are striving to get into NATO.

[Chernomyrdin] I do not understand them. What do they find so attractive about NATO, and why do they want to get into it at any cost?

[DER SPIEGEL] You mean the Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, and Slovaks should forget their ideas of joining NATO?

[Chernomyrdin] Do they have too much money? After all, NATO membership costs something. First of all, I want to understand: Why do they want it?

[DER SPIEGEL] Well, they do not know what will come after Chernomyrdin and Yeltsin.

[Chernomyrdin] That is no reason. I do not know, either, what is going to come after Vaclav Havel or after Walesa.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Czechs are hardly a threat to the Russians.

[Chernomyrdin] This is the old way of thinking. Today I do not expect any more danger from Western Europe. We are worried about regional conflicts....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...in the Balkans, in the Caucasus....

[Chernomyrdin] ...quite so. In the Caucasus no end is to be seen, and the same goes for the former Yugoslavia. Tajikistan is also an example of how things might set off a chain reaction.

[DER SPIEGEL] The package for Russia of the G-7 summit in Tokyo in April envisaged a total of $43.4 billion in aid to stabilization, structural reforms, and rescheduling. How much of the promised money have you received so far?

[Chernomyrdin] This is almost a philosophical question. Rescheduling alone is a considerable help for Russia. In real terms, we have received $1.5 billion from the IMF. I hope that another $1.5 billion will follow at the end of December or the beginning of January. And, in addition, $3 billion for privatized companies. However, first we ourselves have to come so far that we can do something useful with the money.

[DER SPIEGEL] Apart from the past three years, your country received about $80 billion in aid for reforms. By far the largest part, about three-quarters, was in loans or export guarantees. Is Russia falling into a debt trap?

[Chernomyrdin] I am not in favor of raising ever new loans. This is even worse than a trap. One gets out of that only with the greatest difficulty. This is no suitable path for Russia. Of course, we cannot do completely without loans at this stage. But I must know how I can pay them back.

[DER SPIEGEL] And how do you want to do that?

[Chernomyrdin] When I cover a loan with deliveries of natural gas or oil, I know: It will be paid in two or three years. Unfortunately, we are still not accepted as much as we want to be by Western Europe. Our goods do not find access to this market; we do not like that. Russia has enough that could be used for trade: not only energy but also important metals—zinc, aluminum....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...and, above all, weapons.

[Chernomyrdin] I prefer not to comment on this. We could cram the world full with weapons.

[DER SPIEGEL] Recently you reproached German industry and warned that the streams of Russian energy might dry up, if purposeful large-scale investment is not made in the future. Has the threat been effective?

[Chernomyrdin] This was not a threat.

[DER SPIEGEL] Well, at least it sounded like a friendly admonition by the former head of the state gas corporation Gasprom.

[Chernomyrdin] What I meant was that the Germans might come too late. And I would be sorry about that, because, after all, we have the best of relations.

[DER SPIEGEL] Whoever comes too late is punished by Gasprom?

[Chernomyrdin] I am not dissatisfied with the support from Germany. I can even understand the uncertainty and the fear caused by the political instability in our country. However, the most important reservoirs of gas and oil are in Russia—not in Ukraine and not in Belarus.

[DER SPIEGEL] But your production is declining.

[Chernomyrdin] In order to produce much, one has to invest much. We are pumping 100 billion cubic meters of gas per year to Western Europe. However, in total we have 600 billion cubic meters, of which we ourselves use only 400 billion. Hence our invitation: come to us, let us invest in new technologies together. Developing a reservoir takes at least seven years, in the coastal shelf 10 years. Today we are open for joint ventures, shared property, shareholding companies—you here with us, we there with you.

[DER SPIEGEL] Could the old economic contacts with companies in the former GDR still be useful?

[Chernomyrdin] Certainly. I am sure: Without Russia, it will be far harder to get industry going again there.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where could partnership with Germany be intensified?

[Chernomyrdin] In the conversion of arms companies it would be possible to do more. They are competitive and have up-to-date technology and excellent experts. Of course, it is complicated to change over from munitions to civilian production, but in vehicle construction it would be quicker, and such great investment is not needed for that.

It is terrible that Russia's massive riches, both material and intellectual, are not being utilized. True, we need help with that, but it would be of value for the whole of Europe. We are well into the next century with our space technology.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, in Western Europe, too, there is a recession. Space remains a dream under these conditions.

[Chernomyrdin] What a pity. You should not be so tight-fisted. If we now begin to lag behind in this field, we will not be able to catch up for decades. If you look at our potential, you believe that you are in a different world. This must not be lost.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for this interview.

Kohl Makes Moscow Stopover on Return From PRC

Holds Talks With Yeltsin

LD2211175893 Berlin ADN in German 1708 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Germany supports the conclusion of a partnership and cooperation agreement between the European Union and Russia. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl reaffirmed this today after talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. The chancellor made a stopover in the Russian capital on his way from China and met Yeltsin for brief talks behind closed doors.

Kohl said at Vnukovo II airport before he flew on to Bonn that he again assured Yeltsin of German support for reforms in Russia. He wanted to demonstrate this support to Russians by this short visit.

According to the chancellor, the Russian president gave him an extensive briefing on the internal situation ahead of the parliamentary elections on 12 December. "Yeltsin said he thinks the forces of reform stand a very good chance in the elections," Kohl said in response to a question from ADN.

Kohl said that during the talks, a visit to Germany by Yeltsin in May of next year was discussed. According to sources with the delegation, Yeltsin will come to the Federal Republic on 12 May. They also agreed to attend together the withdrawal of the last Russian servicemen from eastern Germany, which is to take place on 31 August 1994.

Makes Statement After Talks

LD2211193193 Berlin ADN in German 1737 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN)—According to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Germany supports the conclusion of a partnership and cooperation agreement between the European Union (EU) and Russia. Following talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the chancellor said in Moscow today they discussed all aspects of bilateral relations, including projects in the economic sphere. [passage omitted]

Kohl wants to warn everyone against applying Western criteria to Russia. It has been demonstrated even in eastern Germany what difficulties there are in this. Compared to eastern Germany, Russia has to find its way to democracy and the market economy after over 70 years. "I am confident that Yeltsin and his team will build a living and strong democracy in Russia," Kohl stressed.

Kohl pointed out that Russia is "a great power," regardless of its momentary difficulties. This results from its geographical and geo-political position, its rich natural resources, and its doubtless great economic potential. "It is our desire that Russia bring a message of peace and freedom to the world." [passage omitted]

Holds Press Briefing

LD2211200493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1843 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov—German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has expressed full support for the policy chosen by Russian President Boris Yeltsin aimed at creating a law-governed state, providing civil rights and freedoms, and building a socially oriented market economic. Speaking to journalists at Vnukovo airport today after "an intensive and fruitful meeting with Boris Yeltsin," the head of the German Government pointed out that he is well aware of the difficulties which Russia is currently going through and for that particular reason he is not inclined to assess the situation in Russia according to Western standards. He said that one has to bear in mind that Russia is a vast country which, 70-odd years after the October revolution, is searching for a path toward democracy. The matter in hand is how to run things, not the vague topics discussed by Western students and political scientists at universities every day. I believe that together with his brothers-in-arms, Yeltsin will succeed in building a firm democracy, Helmut Kohl stressed.

The chancellor expressed satisfaction with the fact that he was able to visit Moscow en route from Beijing to Bonn and to meet the head of Russian state with whom he constantly keeps intensive private dialogue by telephone. By his brief visit to Moscow, H. Kohl said, he would like to show to all Russian citizens how much the Germans wholeheartedly support the path toward reforms, especially after the October events in Moscow. During a conversation which, according to the chancellor, took place in a sauna, among other places, a whole range of problems of bilateral cooperation was discussed. Specific cooperation drafts to be studied have been mapped out.

Another meeting with the Russian president, the chancellor said, will take place in Brussels in early December where a protocol on partnership and cooperation between Russian and the European Union will be signed. It was stressed once again that Bonn fully supports the idea of the Russian Federation's association with the European Union. A more thorough exchange of views will take place during the Russian president's visit to the Federal Republic next May.

Speaking of the prospects of Russia's development, the chancellor expressed the confidence that it will remain a great power and play a decisive and substantial role in world politics. This follows from its geopolitical position, its size of population, natural resources, and economic potential. Russia will make an important contribution to ensuring peace not only from a military but also from an economic viewpoint, and to the struggle for preserving the means of supporting life on earth against poverty.

Russia is Germany's nearest great neighbor, the chancellor stressed. These countries are linked by long-standing traditional ties. After all, there have been more years of cooperation between them than of hostility and wars. These relations of cooperation will continue to develop and strengthen in future, the head of the German Government concluded.

Immediately after the meeting the chancellor left for Bonn.

Press Service Statement on Talks

LD2211202693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1838 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—At Boris Yeltsin's invitation, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a brief stopover in Moscow today on his way from China back to Germany.

"A friendly and open conversation on issues relating to bilateral relations, the situation in Europe and the situation in the world as a whole was held between the Russian president and the FRG chancellor," the report of the press service of the Russian president says, "in the spirit of the tradition of the regular meetings at top level which has been formed in Russian-German relations.

"At H. Kohl's request, B. Yeltsin informed him about the pre-election campaign under way in Russia and about the activities of Russian authorities to ensure free and just democratic elections on a multiparty basis.

"H. Kohl expressed firm support for the development of the democratic process in Russia.

"When examining issues of bilateral relations, both leaders spoke in favor of considerably intensifying economic cooperation between Russia and Germany, especially in the sphere of technology.

"B. Yeltsin and H. Kohl expressed mutual understanding on the issues of developing multi-faceted cooperation in Europe, in particular of forming a future system of security on the continent.

"Issues relating to the implementation of the decisions to support reforms in Russia, which were adopted at the Tokyo summit last summer, were discussed.

"H. Kohl invited B. Yeltsin to pay an official visit the FRG in May 1994. The invitation was gratefully accepted."

Adamishin Meets FRG Official on CSCE Meeting

LD2211203593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1918 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 22 November TASS—Russian First Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin met with visiting German State Secretary Dieter Kastrup in Moscow on Monday [22 November].

Kastrup is accompanying German Chancellor Helmut Kohl who has made a brief stopover in Moscow en route from Beijing to Bonn. Adamishin and Kastrup discussed some urgent issues connected with the preparations for the upcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held in Rome. The sides also discussed nuclear non-proliferation.

French Minister's Statement on Threat Rebutted

PM2211113193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Manki Ponomarev "Rejoinder": "Does Not Fear Have a Hundred Eyes?"]

[Text] It has been remarked on several occasions that the processes taking place in Russia and other CIS states are explained more objectively in France than in many other Western countries. This is the theory. But with regard to specifics we can find plenty of departures from this rule on the banks of the Seine.

These undoubtedly include the recent remarks by French Defense Minister Leotard. They basically boil down to the premise that "the countries of the former Soviet Union, and primarily Russia, are a threat to France."

What does the minister think this threat consists of? He is worried that "a certain section of Russia's military potential has not only remained unaffected, but is actually being updated." This applies in particular to reconnaissance satellites and airborne troops.

Francois Leotard has not made a stunning discovery. Russia has stressed on more than one occasion, and at the highest level moreover, that command and control of the Armed Forces, which was partially disrupted following the breakup of the USSR, has been restored and the Russian Army is in now in a state to fulfill the tasks that have been entrusted to it. But these tasks do not include threatening anybody. Moreover, there is no state which Russia regards as its enemy.

This basic position has been clearly enshrined in the Russian Federation military doctrine. And judging by his remarks, the French defense minister is familiar with this document. But for some reason he has thought it necessary to see this document as "a strategic hypothesis which could present a danger." And nothing more.

Incidentally, other anti-Russian material has appeared in the Paris press in recent days. For example, reports are being published that Russia is allegedly not meeting in full its commitments under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, whose third anniversary took place yesterday. There are no grounds for making assertions of this sort. On the contrary, as far as some categories of weapons are concerned, the Russian Federation has even exceeded its commitments (by 905 in the case of armored combat vehicles and 68 in the case of combat aircraft).

So why is he trying to put a wrech in the works?

French Role in High-Speed Rail Project Noted

PM2211162593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 93 First Edition p 5

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko: "From St. Petersburg to Moscow Via Paris. The French Seem To Be Ready To Join in Construction of a High-Speed Railroad"]

[Text] Paris—The French are participating, and intend to expand their participation, in the project to construct a high-speed main railroad between St. Petersburg and Moscow. Russian Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov spoke of this in conversation with your correspondent. He summed up the results of the Russian delegation's talks with French ministers and representatives of the business world, as well as the presentation of this project in the French National Assembly (IZVESTIYA No. 221).

One of the major French banks—Credit Lyonnais, which has a branch in the city on the Neva—is ready to act in three capacities: as financial adviser, organizer of finance, and investor. To this end the bank proposes to create a financial pool or corporation with the active involvement also of Russian banks.

The Russian Government is to play the key role in implementing the "construction project of the century," which is under the patronage of Boris Yeltsin.

Given state guarantees, firms and private persons will more readily invest their own funds. The state cannot risk the failure of this project, which will work for the whole country. Therefore it must have the controlling, "golden" packet of shares.

There are untapped reserves, Oleg Lobov reminded me, which can be involved in constructing the high-speed main railroad. These are, in particular, the two as yet "outstanding" French credits of 700 million and 1.5 billion francs allocated to Russia in 1990 and 1992 respectively.

"The French company of Sofrerail, which specializes in constructing high-speed main lines and has joined our joint-stock company, is involved in the project," O. Lobov pointed out. "Other French and Western firms, including U.S. ones, are approaching us."

Lobov is convinced that the railroad will pay for itself after 10 years' operation and will prove profitable because high-speed main railroads compete successfully with air and road transport all over the world.

Today the cost of rail tickets in Russia is several times less than that of air tickets. But with the commissioning of high-speed trains the cost will even out at a higher level—which, in Lobov's assessment, will ensure the "highest profitability" of the new form of transport. Moreover, the "high-income resident" prepared to pay for speed and comfort is also emerging in our country.

Construction of the St. Petersburg-Moscow line, along which trains will travel at a speed of 250-300 km per hour, the Security Council secretary pointed out, is just the initial stage in the creation of a network of high-speed main railroads over Russia's expanses. France for its part has already gone outside its own borders and is constructing new branches in Spain and under the English Channel. Paris recently won a major contract in South Korea, where a railroad will go from Seoul to the north of the country. Therefore, Oleg Ivanovich believes, in the future high-speed main lines, moving toward each other from the west and the east, will join up in Russia.

Yerin Holds Talks in Denmark on Law Enforcement

LD2211230393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1924 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Vukolov]

[Text] Stockholm, 22 Nov—Issues of developing bilateral cooperation between Russia and Denmark in the sphere of law enforcement activities were the focus attention of the talks held by Russian Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin and Danish Justice Minister Erling Olsen in Copenhagen today.

The ministers spoke in favor of preparing and concluding a bilateral Russian-Danish agreement in this sphere, the latter will facilitate more successful joint actions to combat such types of crime as drug trafficking and international organized crime.

Ivar Boye, chief of the Danish main police directorate, acquainted the Russian guest with the structure of the Danish police bodies and the efficiency of their work. In the course of the conversation they discussed issues of combating specific types of crimes.

An accord was achieved on mutual exchanges of police and militia employees of the two countries in having practical work and on-the-job training. I. Boye put forward the idea of setting up a mission of Nordic countries in Moscow in order to cooperate with Russian law enforcement bodies in combating the transportation of drugs. V. Yerin expressed the Russian side's general agreement to this proposal.

Tomorrow V. Yerin will continue his official visit to Denmark.

Finnish Leader Aho Arrives in St. Petersburg

LD2211151193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] St. Petersburg November 22 TASS—Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho arrived in St. Petersburg on a working visit on Monday seeking to give a boost to Russian-Finnish relations.

"The aim of my visit to St. Petersburg is to improve economic and trade cooperation between St. Petersburg and Finland," Aho said.

During the talks with city officials, Aho plans to discuss joint projects, including to improve automobile and railway communication between the two countries, and open a Finnish culture institute in St. Petersburg. The sides will also focus on ways to increase investments and reduce Russia's debt to Finland by supplying it with Russian goods.

At St. Petersburg's Pulkovo Airport Aho was met by City Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, head of regional administration Aleksandr Belyakov, Finnish Consul General to St. Petersburg Seppo Kauppila.

Paper Views Central Asian Economic Policy

PM2211154793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

["Topic of the Week" article by Aleksandr Golts: "The Sum, the Tenge, and... Politics on the Big Stage"]

[Excerpts] Tashkent-Almaty-Dushanbe-Moscow—An interesting coincidence occurred this week. Seattle, in the United States, saw the most representative conference of leaders of Asian-Pacific region states ever. At the same time, the Russian foreign minister was on a tour of three Central Asian countries: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. In the most general terms, similar issues were raised at the Seattle meeting and during Kozyrev's trip. That is, questions of economic cooperation, guarantees of regional stability and security, and coordination of political efforts. This coincidence enables one to look at Russian policy in nearby Asian foreign parts in the global context and compare it with worldwide trends. [passage omitted]

Economic policy, as we can see, is capable of uniting states. But it can also disunite them. Andrey Kozyrev's trip gives plenty of food for thought on this score. It took place some weeks after Russia had presented the CIS states with its terms for the formation of a new ruble zone. They considered them unacceptable. And they swiftly introduced their own currencies. I believe that Andrey Kozyrev also had some difficult discussions about economic matters which overshadowed very important political and military-political issues. The journalists accompanying the minister were able to get the flavor, so to speak, of the severing of economic links. For instance, we happened to be in Tashkent and Almaty when the local currencies, Uzbek sum and Kazakh tenge, were introduced. That is, the introduction of the currency was announced. But most people had only seen it on television. Whereas in Tashkent you could still buy some things with Russian rubles, they were not accepted in Almaty. It should be added that many people were paid, as usual, in old Soviet rubles on the eve of the changeover. Of course, all the rigmarole connected with the changeover and the impossibility of acquiring essential food by legal means does nothing for the local authorities' prestige and evokes social tension. And, of course, not the kindest feelings toward Russia.

Tajikistan, which faces no end of problems as it is, found itself in the most acute situation. The introduction of the new currencies in the Asian republics meant that the worthless Soviet rubles that had been in use in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan poured into areas where they are still used. The country is on the brink of economic chaos. Many stores have closed and the markets are empty. The opposition, which has not abandoned its plans to seize power by force of arms, was not slow to exploit the social tension.

To be frank, the financial crisis could nullify what the coalition peacemaking forces of the CIS and the Tajik leadership worked so hard to achieve. Moreover, the peacemaking forces themselves, according to their commander, Colonel General Boris Pyankov, are facing serious financial problems. God alone knows how supply and support for the Russian, Kazakhstani, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek component of these forces is going to be coordinated now. There are problems as well when it comes to paying the Russian soldiers in the peacemaking forces. Many of them say they were still being paid in Soviet rubles in October.

Needless to say, the harsh encounter in the former or future (it depends how you look at it) ruble zone has made the problem of Russian-speaking citizens as bad as it can be. The introduction of independent currencies complicates their links with Russia—indeed, public opinion tends to blame Moscow for the difficulties that are arising.

This is hardly entirely just, of course. After all, a declaration of independence presupposes a high level of economic responsibility. But the essentially free ruble injections of Russian money into the states in nearby foreign parts have badly undermined our economy. Incidentally, by no means all of them were used for the proper purpose. Very large sums fell into the hands of people who swiftly turned them into hard currency and exported them outside the CIS.

But whereas Moscow's decisions were inevitable in the strategic sphere, there were obvious mistakes in the tactics, in the way in which they were implemented, which displeased the republics. When the visit was coming to a close I asked Andrey Kozyrev whether it seemed to him that our economic policy was impeding

our foreign policy. While noting that there was no alternative to the basic economic course, he did say that there was insufficient coordination in the conduct of this course. Maybe the new rules of economic relations will make the Commonwealth states set about implementing in earnest the documents signed a long time ago on the coordination of economic activity, Kozyrev said.

Russia is still treating Tajikistan as a special case. As Andrey Kozyrev repeatedly stressed, we will not discard this country, which is in a very serious position following the civil war. Ways of providing financial assistance will be found. But again the question is why, when the decisions were formulated, their possible consequences were not foreseen. Why is Russia's economic policy not linked to clearly identified foreign policy goals? Far be it from me to cite Washington as an example for Moscow. The two countries' opportunities for conducting an effective policy differ at the moment. And all the recriminations boil down to the fundamental notion that "it is better to be healthy and rich than poor and sick."

But if you want to be healthy and rich you do not try to alienate by ill-judged decisions those whom only yesterday you described as brothers.

Yerin Letter Confirms More Weapons for Georgia

LD2211160793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In the near future Russia will hand over more weapons and armored equipment to Georgia. This is stated in a letter sent by Viktor Yerin, head of the Russian Interior Ministry, to his Georgian counterpart. The press center of the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs would not clarify how many weapons or armored vehicles will be supplied.

Kozyrev: Ukraine Violating Nuclear Treaty

LD2211165193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitry Voskoboinikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] The Ukrainian parliament which ratified the START I agreement but reserved Kiev's right to possess nuclear weapons is in direct violation of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told a news conference in Moscow on Monday.

The minister says Russia more than others wants to see the continuance of the non-proliferation regime because of the risk that new nuclear states may emerge on its borders. Kiev's decision may spark off a chain reaction, he warned.

At the same time, Kozyrev pointed to some nuances in positions taken by the Ukrainian parliament on the one hand and President Kravchuk and his government on the other.

"All of this points to the need for clarification because otherwise, the question is one of a shake up of the entire system of international relations and the expansion of the nuclear club of Russia, the U.S., Britain, China and France due to Ukraine," Kozyrev said.

Russia hopes that the West will demonstrate due concern and "seriously warn Kiev against its nuclear ambitions," a high-ranking Russian diplomat told INTERFAX.

He also said that the West was "reaping the fruits of its relaxed attitude to Ukraine's nuclear ambitions." "The West did not hasten to surrender Ukraine to the Russian sphere of influence, all of which explains its tolerance to Ukraine's claims on nuclear weapons," he added.

He noted, however, that the West did not expect Ukraine to act so quickly and brazenly, and was now seriously concerned about the situation. This can be judged, among other things, from the United States' instant and extremely negative response to the recent moves by the Ukrainian parliament.

He believes that the West "welcomes tensions in Russian-Ukrainian relations, if such tensions do not evolve into a serious conflict." "The West does not want to see rapprochement between the two Slavic states, but rather favors a mutual weakening through tensions. They would also like Russia to yield to the irritants coming from Ukraine and have less time for other problems," he added.

According to the diplomat, Ukraine is well aware of the world community's concern about the problems of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, but is deliberately blackmailing the world in anticipation of considerable economic benefits. "No one poses any threat to Ukraine. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian position poses a threat to the whole world," he said.

"A bad example is contagious," he said. "The former Soviet Union's other nuclear heir, Kazakhstan, just sits back waiting for the world to respond to Ukraine's moves. If the West does not check this process, the entire treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons will fall apart. Ukraine's moves may issue a signal to South Africa, India, Pakistan, Brazil, Israel, and other countries," said the Russian diplomat.

Sources Assail Ukrainian Stance

PM2311094793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by Maksim Yusin: "Ukraine Rejects Nonnuclear Status. Russian Leadership Ready for Tough Measures"]

[Text] Relations between Moscow and Kiev have deteriorated sharply since the Ukrainian parliament, after

formally ratifying the START I treaty last week, effectively proclaimed that Ukraine henceforth considers itself a nuclear state.

The Kremlin's official reaction was not long in coming. Andrey Kozyrev stated Saturday that "the Ukrainian parliamentarians have essentially repudiated Ukraine's pledge to be a nonnuclear state and to accede in that capacity to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty." In the Russian minister's opinion, "the proclamation of Ukraine as a nuclear state... would pose the threat of profound upheavals in the whole system of international relations." Kozyrev announced that the Russian leadership is holding "prompt consultations" with the leaders of leading countries.

Kiev's renunciation of nonnuclear status has caused an extremely sensitive reaction in Moscow. "The Ukrainians have violated the pledges that they made both in the international arena and within the CIS framework. Much of what was agreed by Presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk in Massandra at the start of September has been overturned. How can we trust our Ukrainian partners after this?" a high-ranking Russian diplomat commented.

For him the Ukrainian Supreme Council's decision was no surprise. "Everything was heading in that direction. You only had to analyze Ukrainian politicians' statements over recent months to see that Kiev has long considered itself a nuclear state. Furthermore, representatives not only of the legislature but also of the executive expressed themselves in that vein." In my interlocutor's opinion, the disagreements on the "nuclear question" between the leaders of parliament and President Kravchuk should not be exaggerated: "Despite the fact that Kravchuk advocated a milder version of the resolution, his position is unambiguous. It was he who at various times voiced many ideas which have been reflected in the Supreme Council decision."

Moscow will hardly accept the appearance of a new nuclear state on its borders. As the Foreign Ministry has said, intensive consultations are now under way among various departments, and in the next few days an official position will probably be formulated with regard to Kiev and a decision made on possible retaliatory steps.

By all accounts, one such move will be the intensification of diplomatic pressure on Kiev. Especially since all the other nuclear powers express solidarity with Moscow's stance. Commenting on the Ukrainian parliament's decision and Moscow's reaction to it, Western diplomats accredited to the Russian capital have intimated that they largely share the Kremlin's concern. "We were a little surprised only by the harshness of Kozyrev's statement. However, that does not mean that we disagree with him," one diplomat said.

It cannot be ruled out that Moscow will resort to measures of economic pressure too. Admittedly, the Ukrainian parliament's resolution specially stipulates that Kiev considers such actions unacceptable. However, Moscow does not necessarily have to call things by their proper names. For example, Kiev's inability to settle its debts, which, despite the Ukrainian authorities' assurances, are rising inexorably, could provide the formal grounds for reducing supplies of natural gas to Ukraine.

On Smolenskaya Square [site of Russian Foreign Ministry] they prefer not to speak directly of economic sanctions for the moment. Nevertheless, asked about possible measures to exert economic pressure a Foreign Ministry spokesman who wished to remain anonymous said quite definitely: "The solution of all the complex questions in our relations (and that includes supplies of Russian gas to Ukraine) will depend on Kiev's position on the question of nuclear weapons and the Black Sea Fleet and on the Ukrainians' readiness to fulfill earlier accords. In that sense the Ukrainian parliament's recent decision can hardly have a positive effect on Russian-Ukrainian relations."

Ukraine Alters Positions on Debt Repayments

MK2011142993 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 5

[Report by Grigoriy Selyaninov and Konstantin Smirnov from "The CIS Credit and Settlement Mechanism" column: "A Glimmer of Light Has Appeared at the End of the Debt Tunnel"]

[Excerpts] The main outcome of the Russian-Ukrainian interstate talks that have just ended in Moscow (as reported in KOMMERSANT-DAILY yesterday) have been some basic changes in the position of the Ukrainian side. Kiev has not only recognized its debts but generally agreed to such forms of their settlement as the transfer to Russia of its share of the Black Sea Fleet and stock in a number of enterprises. At the same time the Belarusian parliament has ratified agreements on the economic union, on the ruble zone, and on acceding to Russia's monetary system. Therefore two scenarios have emerged in addressing the payment problems. The first fully corresponds to Russia's interests—the settlement of debts on near market conditions, including payments in property titles. The second proceeds from the freezing of the ruble zone at the "agreement of six" level, providing for the preservation "during the transition stage" of the signatories' national currencies. This scenario may encourage the debtor countries to keep their illusions of evading payment when the ruble zone is put in place. Russia is yet to dispel these illusions.

Ukraine Will Repay Its Debts on Russia's Terms

The Ukrainian Government has finally understood that its repeated attempts in 1993 to obtain financial preferences from Russia are doomed to failure. As a result of the latest talks in Moscow between Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and his Ukrainian colleagues Valentin Landyk, Vasiliy Yevtukhov and Valeriy Shmarov, preliminary accord was reached (it is to be officially approved at the 3 December talks by the heads of state) whereby next year Ukraine will begin to repay its state

debt worth $2.5 billion. Overall in 1994 Ukraine is to transfer to Russian bank accounts $465 million in principal and interest payments. Furthermore, according to Ukrainian official reports, already at this stage payments for oil deliveries are running ahead of the overall energy debt growth, although the sum owed to Russia is still huge—$732.3 million.

A major result of the talks just ended is the agreement by the Ukrainian delegation to implement Boris Yeltsin's proposal made at the September meeting with Leonid Kravchuk in Massandra. This involves the Ukrainian share of the Black Sea Fleet and its base in Crimea, which will pass under the Russian flag on account of debts. The quantity parameters and the terms for the leasing of naval bases are to be coordinated at the 3 December meeting between the premiers. [passage omitted]

Ukraine's Indebtedness to Russia:

Energy debt	billion Russian rubles
Natural gas	520.2
Oil	194.5
Oil products	17.6
Total	732.3

Ukraine's State Debts to Russia

Under the agreement on converting technical credits into state credits, $2.5 billion.

State credit for 1993, $250 million.

Kozyrev Demands Armenia Apologize for Attack

LD2211165493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By Diplomatic Correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] In a statement at a news conference in Moscow by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian government strongly denounced as an unprecedented action the attack on Russian presidential envoy Vladimir Kazimirov and demanded that Armenia's leadership make an immediate public apology and guarantee security to Russian peacemakers.

He described as "a formal reply and personal attack" a note by his Armenian counterpart, Vagan Papazyan, which gave his interpretation of what happened and tried to blame the Azerbaijani side.

"We are inclined to trust the Russian president's personal envoy, who saw for himself what happened," Kozyrev declared, voicing hope that Papazyan's view is not that of the Armenian president's.

Speaking at a news conference, Kazimirov reported that on November 20, after agreement with Armenian presidential aides, he was to cross the Azerbaijani-Armenian border near the Azerbaijani town of Kazah. At the last moment, the Armenian side objected to the initially chosen border crossing point. As a result, the car with four Azerbaijani servicemen, assigned to guarantee the Russian mission's safety, came under fire from machine-guns and large anti- aircraft guns.

As Kozyrev said, Russia will be tough in safeguarding its interests and those of ethnic Russians "whether in neighboring countries or elsewhere." "This will be a yardstick to see whether this or that country is really a good neighbor for Russia," he said. An encroachment on these interests will be automatically regarded as an unfriendly act. Most resolute counter measures will follow from Russia immediately."

Asked by an Interfax correspondent, whether Russia intended to continue to act as a mediator in efforts to secure a settlement in Karabakh, Kozyrev replied that the incident should be "cleared up" first. "We do not refuse to help to settle the conflict, but the Armenian leadership should guarantee the conditions necessary for Russian representatives to fulfill their mediatory mission. Apparently, the conflicting sides have overstepped the bounderies of acceptable behavior beyond which Russia's national interests in the region are directly threatened.

He indicated that "apart from persuasive negotiating methods, Russia has other means to safeguard its national interests, which undoubtedly exist in that region."

He noted, "If a similar incident occurred with an American representative of such rank, an aircraft carrier would be dispatched to the area immediately, which would be normal policy in line with international law, and not gun boat diplomacy."

Further on Kozyrev Response

PM2211171993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Boris Vinogradov: "Moscow Prepares Countermeasures Against Armenia After Shooting of Russian Mission"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has given a news conference in Moscow's Zubovskaya Ploshchad on an incident involving Vladimir Kazimirov, the Russian president's personal representative, who was on a peacemaking mission in Nagorno-Karabakh. As already reported, the mission was fired on from the Armenian side.

On returning to Moscow, V. Kazimirov said that the place and time of a border crossing had been agreed in advance with Baku and Yerevan. The town of Kazakh, which is far outside the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous

Oblast, had been chosen for this. On the morning of 20 November the lead escort vehicle had gone ahead to establish direct contact with Armenian forces. Some time later shooting commenced from Armenian positions. Two Azeri servicemen were injured. It became impossible for the mission to proceed further.

We are talking in this case not just of an occurrence of an extraordinary nature, Andrey Kozyrev declared. You get the impression that politics is behind this incident. I would be glad if this were a false impression, but everything will depend on quick and unequivocal actions by the Armenian leadership above all.

The minister read out a statement by the Russian Federation Government. It states that Russia resolutely condemns this unprecedented act, which grossly flouts the norms of international law, and demands that the Armenian Government apologize and ensure guarantees of safety for the Russian mission's activities. The Russian Government supposes that the guilty persons will be put on trial and reserves the right to take very decisive measures to ensure that similar incidents do not occur again.

For two days now the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been waiting for an official explanation from the Armenian side. To date Moscow has received from Yerevan just one note, which holds the Azerbaijani side entirely responsible. Last year, so Andrey Kozyrev pointed out, his helicopter was fired upon in the Nagorno-Karabakh region between Shusha and Stepanakert. It still is not known which side fired. But in this case Moscow is in no doubt that the shooting was undertaken on the Armenian side's initiative. I regard the attempt to send me a note in which Yerevan wishes to deflect the accusation as an attack on me personally, A. Kozyrev declared.

The note contains hints that, if Kazimirov misinterprets the occurrence, it will be hard for him to work in Armenia. In the Armenian Foreign Ministry's place I would not engage in selecting personnel for the Russian mission but would try to settle the incident in a proper manner, Kozyrev emphasized.

Yeltsin Approves Accord With Turkmenistan

LD2211191093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has approved the Russian-Turkmen agreement on military intelligence, signed by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev during his visit to Ashgabat last September.

According to the agreement, the two parties shall not carry out military intelligence operations targeted against each other.

By agreement with Turkmenistan, military intelligence units of the Russian Defense Ministry will continue to operate in the places where they were stationed. Ashgabat will ensure the safety of Russian intelligence flights, while Russian intelligence planes will be temporarily located on Turkmenistan's airfields.

Without prior consultations, neither Moscow nor Ashgabat shall publish or pass over to third countries information about each other's military intelligence operations.

Mixed Results Seen in Talks With Estonia

PM2211160393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Sergey Knyazkov: "Russian Servicemen Stay in Estonia Until the End of Summer 1994? Difficult Dialogue at the Latest Round of Talks"]

[Text] "It is hard to make a simple assessment of the results of the Russian-Estonian talks which finished 17 November in Lohusalu, because a huge range of questions were discussed there," Vasiliy Svirin, head of the Russian delegation, stated to RIA. Progress was achieved on the package of military problems. Russia has announced its readiness to withdraw troops from Estonia (5,000 men) by 31 August 1994, but on condition that the Estonian side participates in providing them with facilities in their new stationing locations and allocates a certain sum of money for these purposes. "At the same time, the Russian delegation has expressed sharp dissatisfaction at the fact that the Estonian side is refusing to carry out Article 3 of the treaty on interstate relations, according to which everyone who lives in the republic is given the right to choose their citizenship in accordance with free will," Vasiliy Svirin noted.

As I managed to find out from Andrey Yakushev, press secretary at the Russian Embassy in Tallinn, only two draft agreements were ratified during several days of talks: on cooperation in the sphere of standardization and the preservation of cultural values. We would agree that these are not the most burning issues which are worrying the Russians living in Estonia. Thus, during a meeting Tuesday between Vasiliy Svirin and our military pensioners, it became clear that they do not have a precisely correct idea of the discussion of their problems at the talks. Grigoriy Belozerov, chairman of the Estonian Republic Council of Veterans, for example, told a RIA correspondent that Tallinn has apparently given the go-ahead for granting Russian military pensioners living in the republic a residence permit. But it appears that it is only servicemen who transferred to the reserve before 20 August 1991 who are eligible for this "benefit." Unfortunately, Andrey Yakushev maintains, the Estonian side is occupying a tough stance on this issue and an acceptable solution has still not been found. Furthermore, there have been a number of statements at high government level which have shown that there is no point in expecting progress in the discussion of these questions. And by and large, this is not surprising. The Estonian side was interested primarily in the date of the withdrawal of the troops. And indeed, as Andrey Yakushev testifies, the first comments about the talks note that: Although the date of the withdrawal of the troops

proposed by Russia signifies a step forward in Russian-Estonian talks, what is needed is not a declaration, but a specific timetable for the withdrawal of the troops, with instructions of what units will leave the republic's territory and when.

Estonian observers are stressing that this time Russia was in a more constructive frame of mind at the talks. This is connected with the UN General Assembly resolution calling for "the speediest complete withdrawal of foreign troops" from Estonia and Latvia and the promised U.S. financial assistance in providing facilities for the troops being withdrawn to Russia.

As usual, Defense Minister Juri Luik, head of the Estonian delegation, was also restrained in his assessment of the talks: "We did not have any particular success at these talks, but we did achieve the best result we could."

Restrictions on Contacts With RSA Lifted

LD2211210093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The Russian government has lifted restrictions on political, economic, financial, scientific, technological, cultural, sporting and other contacts with South Africa imposed in conformity to a 1962 decision of the U.N. General Assembly.

According to a release issued in Moscow on Monday, the measure applies to all state Russian institutions, industrial, trading, financial and transport enterprises, banks and individuals.

However, the ban on military cooperation and military technological contacts with South Africa imposed in fulfillment of U.N. Security Council resolutions will remain in effect, the Russian government said.

Omani Company Interested in Yamal Deposits

PM2211142593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 17 Nov 93 p 4

[Item from "EAN Reports" roundup: "Shaykh Interested in Yamal"]

[Text] Salekhard—Mr. Rahman-Ahmed, technical director of an Arabian Peninsula oil company belonging to an Omani shaykh, has met with Gennadiy Kudryavtsev, deputy head of the okrug administration. They discussed the possibility of investing the shaykh's capital in the okrug's economy, primarily in oil and gas extraction. In addition, they considered the possibility of jointly working hard economic mineral deposits in the polar Urals and of injecting investment into the okrug's agricultural economy. The shaykh's representative obtained initial geological and economic information. In the near future a large delegation of economists and engineers from the Omani company is expected to arrive in Yamal to elaborate joint projects.

PRC Military 'Concerned' Over U.S. Policy

PM2211123993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Vladimir Skosyrev: "Chinese Generals Demand That Jiang Zemin Not Make Concessions to Clinton"]

[Text] Beijing—Could the Chinese Army win a future war? This is the title of a booklet published in China which reveals eight scenarios of a possible military conflict. They include combat operations in Korea and the return of Taiwan to PRC sovereignty. In all variants its main enemy is the United States.

The publishers have given the pamphlet an eye-catching appearance. A comment by PRC President Jiang Zemin is reproduced on the cover: "We must win modern localized wars in which high-technology weapons are used." From this quotation the reader could easily conclude that the booklet's contents reflect the views of the top party hierarchs.

But is that so? The circumstances of the pamphlet's publication are mysterious. Because immediately after it appeared in kiosks the authorities banned it and ordered its confiscation. But the ban proved easier to impose than to implement. Part of the print run was sold out.

Two versions regarding this are being discussed in Beijing diplomatic circles. The pamphlet's authors have made public something which they should not have made public and will be punished for it, adherents of the first version believe. But a completely different opinion prevails. Some Chinese People's Liberation Army [PLA] generals and officers and their retired colleagues decided to use this publication to draw their fellow citizens' attention to the fact that Beijing should be preparing for confrontation with Washington instead of making concessions to it.

It is evident from an item in the Hong Kong press that the Chinese PLA command is very concerned that the United States often acts without considering China's interests or prestige. This is how people here categorize Washington's decision to sell Taiwan 150 fighters and impose economic sanctions against China because it sold missile technology to Pakistan. The military were particularly displeased by the incident over the Chinese freighter Milky Way, in which, according to U.S. intelligence information, China was transporting poisonous substances to Iran.

The second version is also supported by an account, printed in a Hong Kong magazine with close ties to Beijing, of a meeting between Jiang Zemin and eight generals headed by National Defense Minister Chi Haotian. At the meeting, which took place 8 September, the military expressed their dissatisfaction that the PRC had taken a soft line in the face of a U.S. "policy of force and hegemonism."

Decline in Border Trade With PRC Viewed

OW2111184993 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 30 Oct 93

[Commentary by station observer Valentinov; from the "Businessmen's Club" program]

[Text] According to Heilongjiang Radio, an economic meeting held a few days ago in Harbin analyzed the reasons why border trade with Russia has declined.

In this connection, our station observer Valentinov writes:

The Harbin meeting pointed out that most of the unfavorable factors were linked to Russia's political turbulence. The tragedy would have stopped here if it occurred in another place at another time. Harbin's economists explored the issue more profoundly, demonstrating their admirable sagacity. The experts listed the following figures: Heilongjiang Province has 50 major trading companies along the border responsibile for determining the nature of trade and guaranteeing high profits. However, they have been surrounded by many broker companies. Today there are nearly 8,000 such companies in Heilongjiang.

Even lay businessmen know brokers often obstruct the circulation of commodities in their pursuit of profits. They sell cheap but poor-quality products in Russia. Such a practice is impermissible. Radio Harbin pointed out: While popular imported commodities have become increasingly fewer, unsalable commodities are piling up in warehouses. Thus, the circulation of commodities has been obstructed.

Another factor is commercial tourism. In 1992 as many as 1 million passengers traveled from Heilongjiang to Russia to (?market) their commodities. They shipped commodities worth 1 billion yuan from Heilongjiang. Regrettably, most of these were rejects, thereby damaging the reputation of Chinese commodities.

In conclusion, the attendees drew up comprehensive measures for stopping the damaging activities of unruly brokers, for strengthening supervision over the quality of exported commodities, and for rehabilitating the reputation of Chinese commodities.

Finally, let us briefly look at Russia's situation. It is true the situation has not been stable over the past few years. However, the value of Russia's border trade with China reached an unprecedented high in 1992. Today it will not be convincing to ascribe setbacks in trade to Russia's instability since Russia has undergone severe tests and constitutional legislation to maintain (?economic) and political stability.

Korean POW's Get Papers for Compensation Claims

LD2211160293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1210 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul, 22 Nov—The Russian Government today handed papers to 33 Koreans who were forcibly recruited into the Japanese Army and were taken prisoner by the Soviets certifying that they worked while on Soviet territory. These papers were handed over to the ex-POW's by Aleksandr Panov, Russia's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Seoul. These papers will enable them to officially request compensation from the Japanese Government.

These papers were requested from Russia last year by the "North Winds Society" (Sakpkhunkhve) [name as received]. This society, set up about two years ago in South Korea, unites survivors from the 2,000 or so Koreans imprisoned and sent for a few years to Siberian labor camps. Whereas Japanese POW's received compensation on their return home, the Koreans who were forced to join the Kwantung Army with them, did not receive a penny. That is why they needed documents confirming their imprisonment, in order to restore justice.

Political Issues

Gaydar Wins Support for Draft Constitution

LD2211142993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in Russian 1333 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Boris Belyakov and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[Text] Samara November 22 TASS—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar won the support to the draft constitution of leaders of several regions and republics along the Volga river who agreed on Monday [22 November] that failure to adopt the basic law would result in chaos and dictatorship.

"The constitution submitted to the referendum is not an ideal one, but it guarantees order and stability, including in such an issue as the Russian territorial integrity", Gaydar said.

He called on the regional leaders to "inform every voter on the essence of the constitution".

The leaders agreed that without a new constitution there would be no use of electing a new parliament. Although they advanced several remarks to the draft, they approved of it in general and said that although a referendum is not the best way to adopt the constitution, it is the only one available in the absence of the supreme legislature.

The leaders of the Volga regions called on the people to support the draft constitution at the upcoming referendum.

Shokhin Says New Constitution Will End 'Autocracy'

LD2211205693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin told a news conference in Moscow on Monday [22 November] that he regretted that "the democratic camp had split on the issue of the draft constitution."

Shokhin, who is also a leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC), had in mind the position of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, which protests against holding a referendum on the constitution, insisting that the document be put before the new parliament instead.

Shokhin said PRUC believed the adoption of the constitution was essential, for it "would put an end to the period of autocracy" following the October events in Moscow. Moreover, since the Federal Assembly, the future parliament, was to be based on the new constitution, it would never meet if the draft were voted down, he said.

Coalition Government Suggested After 12 Dec Elections

PM2311103793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Dmitriy Orlov: "Strong Cabinet Required"]

[Text] Experts single out several models for the formation of the future government. The sectorial model, traditional for our country, seems to us the least effective since decisions in such a cabinet will continue to be taken without a consideration for the broad spectrum of interests of the different strata of the population. The traditional model for countries of parliamentary democracy—forming a government of leaders of the parties belonging to the ruling bloc (or representatives of the one party which has an absolute majority)—would be the best, but the cabinet's professionalism would be markedly reduced. Finally, a government team selected by the premier on instructions from the president (a presidential cabinet) could come up against the problem of confidence.

Russia's draft Constitution submitted by the president for the 12 December referendum provides for the likelihood of just such a "presidential" cabinet: The resignation of the government is accepted (or refused) by the president—while its chairman is appointed by the head of state with or without the State Duma's agreement.

In our view the best option if the Fundamental Law is adopted would be the formation of a government consisting of leaders of the parliamentary majority (for instance "Russia's Choice," the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, the Yavlinskiy bloc) taking into consideration their professional skills, which would make it possible to create a stable ruling bloc. Of course the cabinet members from various political organizations would to a considerable extent be autonomous but the cabinet's decisions would have the necessary representative nature since behind each minister there would stand his party relying on the opinion of the electorate.

A coalition means the possibility of the government elaborating collective decisions which would not be rejected by parliament. The mechanism for agreeing positions created in the process of the electoral campaign could be successfully transfered to the current activity of the supreme organ of executive power.

We believe that the ministers' passage through the crucible of the elections is extraordinarily important for their future activity. There is no doubt that our country's historical traditions, on which we must base ourselves, dictate the need for a strong cabinet, but its responsibility to the voters should also be immeasurably greater.

Sokolov Appointed Chairman of Federal Property Fund

PM2211153193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Pashkov including an interview with Vladimir Valentinovich Sokolov, newly appointed chairman of the Russian Federal Property Fund: "Vladimir Sokolov Appointed Chairman of the Russian Federal Property Fund"]

[Text] By edict of President B. Yeltsin, Vladimir Valentinovich Sokolov has been appointed chairman of the Russian Federal Property Fund, and the fund's former chairman, F. Tabeyev, has been released from this post in connection with his reassignment. The president's press service reported this to the mass media.

V. Sokolov, who was chairman of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Committee for the Management of State Property before the current appointment, has not arrived in Moscow yet. Our correspondent in Yekaterinburg Aleksandr Pashkov met with Vladimir Valentinovich and congratulated him on his new post. Here is what he reported to the editorial office.

Vladimir Valentinovich Sokolov was born in 1951. He was born in Yekaterinburg. He graduated from the Ural Polytechnical Institute—from which Yeltsin and Ryzhkov graduated in their time—in the economic engineering faculty. He was prorector for scientific work. He is a candidate of economic sciences. He left the institute to work in the party obkom [oblast committee] as a consultant. He was then elected chairman of the Kirovskiy [Rayon] Executive Committee in Sverdlovsk city. In December 1990 at a session of the oblast soviet he was confirmed as chairman of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Committee for the Management of State Property. He was confirmed by Anatoliy Chubays, who chose him from two candidates. The opinion of the local authorities was also taken into consideration in this.

Vladimir Sokolov said that although the appointment came as a surprise to him, in principle he is prepared to work on the continued implementation of the privatization program.

"I think that despite all the criticism of privatization," he said, "the main thing is that all the basic elements which must be completed have been outlined."

Vladimir Valentinovich believes that the oblast chose the correct policy—it has dealt with the privatization process at major plants, and the investment program has gotten off the ground, particularly in the sphere of social programs.

Sokolov is a member of the board of directors of the "Uralmash" joint-stock company.

Election Issues

12 Dec Ballot Papers, Voting Procedure Explained

PM2211142193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Linkov: "How To Elect to What"]

[Text] The elections to the Federal Assembly and the referendum on the draft of the new constitution will take place 12 December. Less and less time remains until that important day, but the number of questions is not yet diminishing. Particularly relating to the voting procedure. Let us try to get to the bottom of the matter and somehow help the voters not to lose their head at the time of making a very important decision not only for themselves.

Let us start with the simplest thing: On 12 December every voter will receive four voting papers. One to vote on the draft constitution and three more for the elections of deputies. Everything is more or less clear with the first voting paper. It contains one question: "Do you accept the Russian Federation Constitution?" And two ready answers—"yes" or "no." The choice is up to the voter—leave your answer and cross out the other one.

Far more must be said about the three other voting papers, although outwardly they are identical. There is a list of the names of parties or candidates in alphabetical order. Opposite them there is a small square. It remains to choose your favorite party, bloc, or candidate and place in the square a cross or other mark comprehensible to the electoral commission. If the voter is opposed to them all, there is a special entry on the voting paper to express this opinion—"against all candidates." A mark is made in the square opposite it.

Let us explain that each voter must name two candidates for the Federation Council. Consequently, he must make two marks on the voting paper. The two candidates who gain the largest number of votes will go through to the upper chamber of parliament, but with one "but." If more people voted for each of the two than "against all the candidates" on the same list. If the latter formula gains more votes than one or both of the leaders, then extra elections are scheduled. Naturally, for one or two deputies.

Let us also explain to readers the principle for electing deputies to the State Duma. Legislators elected in districts make up half its members. One candidate who has gained a majority of votes in excess of the number cast "against all" receives the mandate to sit in the Duma.

The other half of the lower chamber is made up of representatives of the blocs and parties. Their names appear on the voting paper. They are identical, whether in Moscow or Magadan. Therefore voting takes place not for a specific person but for a certain party or bloc. The qualification for parliament is more than 5 percent of the votes cast by the voters. Of course, it is necessary to cross

the barrier of the votes cast "against all." Seats in the lower chamber will not be empty because of parties which have been unable to fulfill these conditions. They will go to the winners in proportion to the number of seats won by them.

In general, it is not all that complex. You have only to go to your polling place 12 December and vote for those whom you trust.

Central Election Commission Decision Questioned

MK2311135093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "Our Choice" rubric: "And What if Ryabov Is Wrong?"]

[Text] According to the Ekho Moskvy radio station, the decision on registering Oleg Tolkachev and Valeriy Kubarev as candidates from Moscow for the Federation Council and the State Duma has brought about a special opinion from a number of Moscow district election commission members.

On 15 November 1993 the commission refused to register these two candidates because the number of valid signatures polled by them was insufficient for registration. On 17 November six commission members out of the 10 present (and out of 13 voting members) ruled to register O. Tolkachev and V. Kubarev "as part of a general list of deputy candidates for the State Duma and the Federation Council that have submitted their applications.

In a letter sent to the Central Electoral Commission [CEC], five commission members report that "the changing of the decision has occurred as a result of intervention by CEC Chairman Nikolay Ryabov, who offered his own interpretation which essentially differed from the provisions under Article 20, the Regulations on Elections of Deputies to the Federation Council, and Article 24 of the Statue on Elections to the State Duma." In their opinion, N. Ryabov has also violated Article 20, part 5 of the Regulations on Elections whereby decisions of a normative character are to be made by a majority of CEC members and are subject to publication.

The letter was signed by district election commission members I. Zolotarevskaya, Ye. Kudryavtseva, M. Slavutskaya, I. Markelova, and S. Nakonechnyy. According to Ekho Moskvy, deputy commission chairperson M. P[illegible]akova has also recorded a special opinion.

Contenders for Speaker's Chair Assessed

PM2211164993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Editorial Office feature under the "Political Solitaire" rubric, accompanied by "Our Commentary" by Vladislav Krukovskiy, under the general headline: "Who Should Be Entrusted With Parliamentary Speaker's Seat?"]

[Text] First of all we put this question to journalists and political experts who, it seems to us, are capable of expressing independent judgments. In the replies we heard the names of political figures well known throughout Russia. You can see their photographs on this page.

They are Sergey Filatov, Sergey Shakhray, Anatoliy Sobchak, and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy.

Vasiliy Selyunin, Andranik Migranyan, Konstantin Borovoy, and Emil Pain gave their reasons for nominating these candidacies.

Then we asked representatives of the main political parties and associations to present their arguments "for" and "against" these same candidacies. In doing this, we approached Yuriy Levykin, Gavriil Popov, Arkadiy Murashov, Valentin Khomyakov, Viktor Kobelev, Grigoriy Rebrov, Aleksandr Mikhaylov, Aleksandr Kotenkov, and Vladimir Mikhalchenko.

Vasiliy Selyunin, journalist: To my mind, Sergey Filatov would be the ideal leader of the Duma. I know him as a highly erudite individual with a well-balanced character, having demonstrated superior organizational qualities during his time as deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet. His virtues stood out especially vividly against the background of Khasbulatov's behavior. If the latter was holding a Supreme Soviet session, hysteria fired up by the speaker reigned in the hall, ancient conflicts were intensified, new conflicts emerged, and frenzied calls for the Russian president's head rang out. By contrast, when Sergey Aleksandrovich was in the chair he immediately defused the tension, restoring calm and a businesslike atmosphere.

But there is a danger that the situation might be undermined, that the common cause might suffer, if, say, Filatov were to exchange the highly responsible post of head of the Russian President's Administration which he currently occupies for the leadership of the Duma. Especially as there are plenty of other fish in the sea of well-known political figures, so to speak, aside from Sergey Aleksandrovich. I hope that a lot of votes will be cast in favor of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, should he submit his candidacy for a leading post in the future Federal Assembly. Although we from "Russia's Choice" are in competition with the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc during the election campaign—and, naturally, we do have differences of opinion—we always manage to find common ground on questions of principle, for the simple reason that both sides are prepared to compromise.

Andranik Migranyan, political scientist: Sergey Shakhray's candidacy would seem to be by far the most suitable for the role of chairman of the State Duma. I will try to substantiate this claim. Shakhray is a flexible politician, capable of listening to and assimilating the stance of an opposing side, extracting what is most important and constructive from it, as if to make it part of his own program, his own stance.

You have to agree that in today's conditions this characteristic is extraordinarily important for a leading figure. Add to this his professional legal training, which is a most essential instrument in a politician's work, and of course, his colossal capacity for work, and I personally attach much importance to the fact that Sergey Shakhray never tries to overstate his role and does not strive to appear better than he is. In short, he is not at all given to pride. Likewise, the enormous experience he has acquired in the post of vice premier militates in favor of his candidacy.

Konstantin Borovoy, political scientist: I would not opt for any of the politicians already named. In fact, in my view the rivalry surrounding Ruslan Imranovich's Khasbulatov chair should culminate in one way only—the abolition of the seat itself, at any rate in the form in which it existed until recently. In the current situation, the power struggle on the political Olympus is a battle to possess the instruments of a totalitarian state. Power should not afford the right of unrestricted rule, never mind provide a means of financial gain. From my viewpoint, politics should attract not those seeking some kind of dividend but people who have a clear idea of the development of society and the state. Khasbulatov's post is dangerous because it infects politicians with a love of power. These politicians could once again plunge the country into a very dangerous situation.

Emil Pain, director of the Foreign Policy Association Center for Ethnopolitical Research: The speaker of the new Russian parliament should be a person who is capable of entering into alliances and blocs, and who knows how to reach a compromise. There are two people equally suited to this. In my view, they are Anatoliy Sobchak and Sergey Shakhray. But of course, it will be for the Federal Assembly to decide this.

Here is what the main political parties and associations think about the contenders for this prestigious post:

Yuriy Levykin, secretary of the council of the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc: I believe that the aforementioned candidates for the post of chairman of the Duma will undoubtedly be able to cope with this job, and that they are wholly worthy of such a high honor, but for each of them the speaker's post will offer a narrow field of activity, and it will not allow for the realization of their tremendous political potential. Whereas my colleague in this bloc, Andrey Sebentsov, would be at home in this post.

Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms (RMDR): Our movement believes that the person who would cope with this post best of all is Anatoliy Sobchak, having already proven this while chairing the Constitutional Conference.

Arkadiy Murashov, member of the Executive Committee of the "Russia's Choice" bloc: I support none of the figures mentioned by the journalists.

Valentin Khomyakov, chairman of the Board of the Democratic Party of Russia: In my view, now is not the right time to raise this question. But I will not state my preference for any of those figures proposed. Our party has its own candidate—Travkin.

Viktor Kobelev, member of the Supreme Council of the Liberal Democratic Party: Of the four candidates named, our party does not support any. We nominate Vladimir Zhirinovskiy for this post.

Grigoriy Rebrov, member of the Russian Communist Party Executive Committee: I would not like to see any of the aforementioned figures assume this post. I am convinced that it is they who are responsible for the national tragedy in the country.

Aleksandr Mikhaylov, deputy chairman of the Russia Agrarian Party: We see our party chairman, Mikhail Lapshin, in the post of chairman of the State Duma.

Aleksandr Kotenkov, member of the Federal Council of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord (PRUA): I see Sergey Shakhray in this post. He is a professional politician and a lawyer, and he has a calm, well-balanced character. He knows what's what.

Vladimir Mikhalchenko, deputy general director of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs: Our union sees Arkadiy Volskiy in this eminent post.

[Krukovskiy commentary] Even after the bitter lessons of R. Khasbulatov's period as speaker, the significance of the fact that in literally one month's time albeit not new figures but figures nonetheless invested with high state status will enter Russia's political life cannot be underestimated. But the lessons of the Khasbulatov era, for better or for worse, have been learned. The draft Constitution, as we know, does not provide for a chairman of the Federal Assembly. Each chamber—the State Duma and the Federation Council—will elect its own chairmen. Their rights and duties are enunciated somewhat more than modestly: "They conduct sessions, and they are in charge of the chamber's regulations."

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to underestimate the importance and the force of these two posts in Russia's political hierarchy. The very names of the candidates named by the journalists, their high degree of authority, and their enormous intellectual potential speak for themselves.

So let us ask each other what is by no means a rhetorical question: What should the chairman of the Duma be like? And let our reasoning be guided not just by the recent tragic past but also by Russia's interests, its future. It has to be firmly understood: The chairmen of the chambers are by no means symbolic figures in politics.

Indeed, the leader of the chamber is someone who combines within himself the characteristics of a mature politician and a subtle diplomat. All this should be cemented by sufficient learning, and a good knowledge of the problems of state building. No less significant are personal qualities. In this top post inordinate personal ambition and an overestimation of one's role in politics are directly contraindicated. On the contrary, heightened

civic sense, a taste for compromise, and democratism—these are the character traits which are absolutely essential for the chairman of the Duma.

Attention must be drawn to the fact that, in our view, all the candidates for top parliamentary posts named by the political experts possess these qualities. The political experts also adhere to this view. But something else also catches the eye: The majority of representatives of the political parties who took part in our snap-poll maintain a different view. Almost every one of them would like to see a representative of their own party in the post of chairman of the Duma and Federation Council. Only "Russia's Choice" declined to name its own candidate. What does this indicate? At the very least, two things: First, a fierce political struggle for the chairmanships can be predicted. And second, the members of "Russia's Choice" are obviously sure of the unqualified support of the electorate. So sure are they that they are in no doubt: It will be their representative who moves into this seat. This, however, remains to be seen.

2,057 Candidates Registered for Parliament

LD2211173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1650 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission said on Monday [22 November] it has registered 2,057 candidates to the Federal Assembly, Russia's new parliament.

Commission official said 88 out of 89 two-mandate constituencies for the election to the Federation Council and 224 out of 225 one-mandate constituencies for the election to the State Duma participated in the registration. The Chechen Republic did not participate. Of the 2,057 candidates registered, 490 are running for the Federation Council, the upper house of the new parliament, and 1,567 for the State Duma, the lower house.

Elections in Tatarstan's constituency no. 16 which has registered only one candidate and in Chelyabinsk's constituency no.74 (two candidates) will be postponed until more candidates are registered. A similar situation is in the one-mandate constituency in Naberezhnye Chelny where only one candidate has been registered.

Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov stressed that "the activity of voters has made it possible to nominate and register candidates within a limited period of time very promptly and accurately." "This signifies progress in democratisation of Russian society," he added.

Ryabov disagreed with the mass media which speak about "people's passivity." the first stage of the election campaign showed that the talks about Russian people's passivity are groundless. The people have felt that for the first time the Russian Federation will hold real elections compared to "just voting" in the past.

Chechnya, Tatarstan, Chelyabinsk Out of Elections

LD2211205493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Russia's Republics of Chechnya and Tatarstan and Chelyabinsk Region will take no part in the December 12 parliamentary election, for only two candidates have been registered in each of the three, the necessary minimum being three candidates, the Central Election Commission (CEC) said on Monday.

Altogether 490 candidates to the 172-seat Federation Council and 1567 candidates to the 223-seat State Duma have been registered. The registration finished at midnight on November 19.

CEC may call new elections in Chechnya and Tatarstan, but no later than within 12 weeks after December 12.

According to CEC, 40 percent of Federation Council candidates are heads of local administration bodies, 15.5 percent business people, 7.8 percent managers of large enterprises, 5.6 percent scientists and 2.5 lawyers. Women account for 5.4 percent of them all. Three percent are under 30 years of age, 2.9 percent over 60. Former people's deputies account for 13.3 percent of Federation Council candidates.

Of the State Duma candidates, 20 percent are members of local administration bodies, 22 percent business people, 10 percent scientists, 4.5 percent people working in the mass media, and 1.5 percent people working in the agro-industrial complex. Women account for 5.6 percent of them.

Central Electoral Commission Reveals Nomination Results

MK2311111093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Yekaterina Achalova: "Central Electoral Commission Has Finished Registration of Candidates. Elections in Chelyabinsk Oblast To Take Place Next Year"]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission yesterday announced the results of the registration of candidates for the Federal Assembly running in one-mandate and two-mandate districts. A total of 490 candidates will run for the Council of the Federation in 88 out of 89 one-mandate districts, and 1,567 candidates will contest State Duma seats in 224 out of 225 one-mandate districts. The Republic of Chechnya refused to take part in the elections.

According to Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, the upcoming elections will disprove the widely held opinion regarding the passiveness of Russian voters. On average, one seat at the Council of the Federation will be contested by five candidates in two-mandate districts; seven people will run for each State Duma seat. Ryabov pointed to the low percentage

of refusals to register candidates. According to the Central Electoral Commission, it was not greater than 5 percent.

Nonetheless, irregularities did occur. Krasnodarsk Kray was granted an exception and given two extra weeks to register candidates. Central Electoral Commission representatives said that this was related to unfavorable weather conditions that prevented the timely delivery of lists with signatures. Nomination of candidates for the Council of the Federation was deemed not to have taken place in Tatarstan (where only one candidate was registered) and in Chelyabinsk Oblast, where only two candidates were nominated. According to the Statute on Elections, if fewer than three candidates have been nominated in a two-mandate district, elections are to be postponed for 12 weeks. But these incidents cannot derail elections as a whole.

Since the number of complaints regarding the conduct of the election campaign has increased recently, Nikolay Ryabov said that a special group would be set up tasked with considering petitions regarding irregularities in the process of nominating candidates and the collection of signatures. If a petition is considered justified, the candidate involved, even if he or she is elected, will have to give up his seat at the new legislature.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Results of the Central Electoral Commission's statistical survey

Candidates for the State Duma: representatives of the executive authorities (chiefs of administration and government staff officials), 20 percent; entrepreneurs, 22 percent; scientists and teachers, 10 percent; journalists, 4.5 percent; agro-industrial sector workers, 1.5 percent.

Candidates for the Council of the Federation: representatives of the executive authorities, 36.8 percent; entrepreneurs, 15.5 percent; scientists and teachers, 5.6 percent; representatives of the mass media, 3 percent, and agro-industrial sector workers, 2.9 percent.

'Overregulation' of Election Coverage Hit

PM2211144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Yelena Grandova on remarks of Tatyana Bondarenko, leader of Russian Television's Creative Production Association of Sociopolitical Programs: "Tatyana Bondarenko: Do Not Say 'Yes' and 'No...'"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The game of elections with agitation centers decked out like red-calico delicatessens, which gave pleasure only to children, is over. We are growing up. We now have a choice. Today 13 blocs and parties are waging the struggle for seats in the Duma. The mass media, particularly the electronic media, have become heated, bringing into focus a fundamentally new picture of the election campaign.

How are television people, who are called upon to cover this election marathon, working? We put this question to Tatyana Bondarenko, leader of the Creative Production Association of Sociopolitical Programs, which is entrusted with organizing work on covering the preparations for the elections.

I had the job of preparing and conducting the presidential election campaign on our channel. I remember how much effort was demanded of us at that time: Russian Television was still in its infancy and barely able to walk. Nevertheless, we were at once faced with joining in that very major action. It seems to me that we succeeded in the chief thing at the time: not only organizing coverage that was entertaining, fine, pithy, and, in a word, worthy. But also making Russia's voters interested, giving them a strong incentive to reflect, and helping them to make precisely their own choice.

The present election campaign is the second in my television career. I must point out with chagrin that it differs unfavorably from the previous one in that it is very rigidly regulated. I have to hand a massive bundle of documents each of which "prescribes" in on one way or another the work of the mass media, particularly the electronic media. This is both surprising and distressing. For, to judge from comments and press materials, we coped successfully with the presidential election campaign. That is, we did, I believe, display both sufficient political maturity and professional preparedness, despite the lack of many essential technical facilities. The present mistrust of us not only limits our professional potential but also narrows the creative approach to work. This is not to mention some elements of artistry, the flight of fancy, the interests of television viewers....

Judge for yourselves. Official documents prescribe practically everything: the time to come on the air, the intervals of paid time. They even indicate the genres and forms of coverage. They sometimes go to ridiculous lengths. One document states that the time must be indicated in the top right corner of the television screen. That is, a timer must operate during a speech by a representative of a particular bloc, but professionals know that, if a timer is shown in some instances, it is not in the top right corner but the lower left corner. Moreover, the ARSTRBC [All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company] does not have any timers now, for we are not yet technically so equipped. What is Yelena Pozdnyak, chief producer of the election campaign, doing now? Together with our technical services she is looking in other companies, including foreign ones, for this very timer which will have to be set up according to all the technological rules. Of course, not in the top right corner...

I realize that, given the lack of political culture, skills, and traditions in society, the Central Electoral Commission is seeking to give all parties and blocs equal conditions (I assure you that we also have the same desire), hence the avalanche of tough restrictions. They abide too zealously by the saying: "Once bitten, twice shy," but I still cannot understand this strange "redistribution of roles," this excessive tutelage.

Another point. One thing which, in my view, is fundamental is not taken into account in all the regulations. The thing is, you see, that the voters must also have the right to have their say, and they must express their view on the programs and discuss them, and do so in public, so to speak, but these recommendations, almost laws, do away with the possibility of critical analysis of a particular candidate. We have been placed under conditions where criticism of candidates or blocs by the press is virtually ruled out. We are ending up with a strange thing: The blocs are being granted identical opportunities for... self-publicity. Not encountering any awkward questions and having no opponents, they will simply sing their own song, if I may put it like this, doing so as beautifully as possible.

Here are just two demands: "ARSTRBC employees do not have the right to comment on the election speeches and positions of electoral associations' candidate deputies"; "In the process of the election campaign it is not permitted: to damage the honor, dignity, and reputation of electoral associations which have advanced federal lists of candidates." No one must be suspected of anything beforehand, God forbid, but what if an electoral association itself "damages" its reputation by its own actions? It all boils down to not upsetting the calm of the participants in programs. It is possible not to upset it only by not putting any questions. I realize that under our conditions today such overregulation is an enforced measure. I can express just one wish: That this enforced measure not become some kind of optimum scheme for the future.

As regards the actual transmissions covering the course of the election campaign, an entire scheme operates here in which almost all ARSTRBC subdivisions are involved. This concerns the news programs above all. Our association puts out the daily program "Fall Election Marathon," which goes out during the evening. It deals with the organizational aspect of the matter and with what is happening around the elections. We were the first to acquaint viewers with the members of the Information Arbitration Tribunal, to speak about the clash between pickets collecting signatures for one of the parties and the militia, and to give a bloc which believes that its telephones were disconnected for some improper purposes the opportunity to voice its complaints.

There are twice-weekly 30-minute programs which examine such problems as the political state of society on the eve of the elections, the possibility of monitoring the elections, and the processes within the opposition. Incidentally, one of the programs was devoted to the press, to its responsibility and objectivity. In short, in these programs we have tried to answer questions which are of concern to everyone.

In conclusion I wish to say that, despite the quite complex conditions in which the ARSTRBC subdivisions dealing with the election campaign have been placed, we are endeavoring to do everything to ensure that its television stage passes off in a civilized and worthy manner. I do not doubt that all together we will be able to grant the parties and blocs the opportunity to set out their positions and to ensure equal conditions for everyone to appear on the air.

New Series of 'Pre-Election Programs' Aired

LD2211222793

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 22 November broadcasts a program entitled "We Listen, Ponder, and Elect," the first in a series of pre-election programs. The announcer says: "We offer our airwaves to electoral associations and parties which have been permitted to the State Duma elections on 12 December. In accordance with the presidential decrees on the elections and the guarantees given to participation regarding information, and also with the points relating to the use of the media by electoral associations, our radio, broadcasting as it does to the whole of Russia, is committed to offering its services to each electoral association free of charge for no less than one hour. These broadcasts are due to go out on the air on working days and are repeated the following morning, and reach all regions of Russia via communications systems.

"The order for the presentations on the air for all 13 registered parties and associations was determined by the drawing of lots on 16 November by the Central Electoral Commission." This is followed by introductory music.

The announcer continues: "We Listen, Ponder and Elect. Today, in the Russia's Radio studio, are representatives of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc—Mikhail Mikhaylovich Zadornov, Leonid Viktorovich Kulikov, and Sergey Viktorovich Ivanenko. The program is presented by Vladimir Kurnikov, Radio Russia commentator."

The program is split into three 20-minute segments. Kurnikov first passes the floor to Zadornov, who outlines about what his bloc is. It is an association comprising a number of well-known figures representing three parties—the Social Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and the Christian Democratic Union—and a number of public organizations. Kulikov adds a few pointers to this, such as 12 percent of members are women.

Ivanenko outlines the bloc's election platform. With political stabilization its main concern, it believes work on a new constitution is paramount, as it is only on this basis that early elections of a new president and local elections can be possible. The strategy of reforms and the

essence of economic policy must be altered, moving away from liberalization of an ultra-monopoly economy to a policy of economic transformation. It favors competition as a means of beating inflation, Ivanenko says.

The program then takes the form of an in-depth discussion on various aspects of the bloc's own program. Skeptical of the government's economic policy, the bloc favors programs to develop specific industries, such as housing construction, an easing of the tax burden on production enterprises, and a fairer distribution of incomes. It does not believe the official statistics about unemployment—the bloc's figures show that around 15 percent of the able-bodied population is out of work. The bloc is looking to success in the elections and expects to surmount the 5-percent barrier, and to have a sizeable representation in the State Duma and in the Federal Assembly.

After a short musical interlude, Kurnikov introduces Mariya Andreyevna Nekrasova and Arkadiy Nikolayevich Murashov, representatives of the Russia's Choice bloc. Nekrasova introduces Murashov and his credentials. He was a deputy in the former USSR Supreme Soviet and executive secretary of the interregional group, then heading the Moscow militia and the Center of Liberal Conservative Policy. Murashov believes that his bloc is responsible for the changes in politics and the economy over the past two years. Its leader Gaydar is a man synonymous with Russia's reforms and its top men are cabinet ministers. It makes no promises about slashing prices, but will act with professionalism and competence in its endeavors to improve the economic situation.

During this 20-minute segment, Murashov continues to set out his position in relation to Yeltsin's decision regarding the combination of powers in the new parliament. Murashov explains his bloc's attitude to the programs of the Yav-Bol-Luk bloc and the Russian Democratic Reforms movement. He feels that these two plus Russia's Choice will obtain the majority of seats in the new parliament. He hopes that the speaker in the new parliament will be a scrupulously honest and decent person without any particular political pretentions. Russia's Choice has candidates in some 200 of the 225 constituencies, Murashov naming some of the leading personalities who are standing for the bloc.

The final 20-minute segment is given over to the third bloc to present its views tonight—the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms. Journalist Sergey Stepalin introduces its representatives—Aleksandr Sergeyev, the head of the Russian Independent Miners Union, and Aleksandr Kiselev, a former USSR Supreme Soviet deputy. Sergeyev explains why his union joined the democratic opposition and why he thinks his bloc is a more attactive one than the other two. It concerns itself more with the ordinary person, people's living standards, and wages. Kiselev says his bloc supports the reforms in principle but not the methods being used. Strikes could have been prevented, he says, if the government had faced the problems and acted at the right time. He names some of the personalities standing for the movement during the campaign. Kiselev concludes by describing his bloc's attitude to the new draft constitution, saying it must be adopted as it is vital to the country's future.

Parties' Socioeconomic, Land Ownership Policies Viewed

PM2211143793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by Anatoliy Antonov: "If the Means Are Unclear, There Is Less Trust in the End"—first and last paragraphs are ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI notes]

[Text] ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has published the replies of all 13 election blocs and parties to two questions: What is your social program and what is your attitude toward private ownership of the land? (see ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Nos. 220, 222, and 223). We asked our permanent writer political scientist Anatoliy Antonov to comment on these publications.

Politicians realize that a sufficiently large number of people from the ranks of those who will go the polls 12 December are in need of social aid and protection.

The "Russia's Choice," Democratic Party of Russia, and Party of Russian Unity and Accord blocs clearly feel the problem of the erosion and inefficiency of social aid, which is failing to reach those for whom it is intended. For instance, the Democratic Party of Russia proposes to resolve it by creating a network of patron councils and nonbudget foundations and also by exempting from taxes the money which goes for these purposes. Naturally, the "Women of Russia" association pays great attention to social problems in its program, focusing attention on the retention of free education and medical aid for all strata of the population and on ensuring a dignified life for the family and priority for the interests of the child.

For all that a weak spot in many social programs remains the highly superficial development (or indeed even complete absence) of a question which in this case is decisive: How will the stated programs be fulfilled?

The second shortcoming of many of the published manifestos is their excessively general, abstract nature, far removed from a practical interpretation of life, from the tough and specific daily experience of the people who will go to the polls 12 December.

That also concerns to a considerable extent the answers to the second question.

Their analysis does not produce anything particularly new for specialists. In fact there is not a single party (apart perhaps from the Party of the People's Freedom) including among the opposition parties which would unequivocally oppose private ownership of the land in one form or another. On the contrary, they all support its

introduction. It is true that they do this with one reservation or another. Even the representatives of the Communist Party of Russia now acknowledge the need for the free transfer of land to all those who want to work on it. Where is the thrust of their differences?

The experience of radical reforms in Russia has now forced politicians of different orientations to be considerably more cautious as regards formulas for our society's rapid transformation. Thus, a balanced position is occupied by the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, which believes that alongside the introduction of private ownership of land and the development of private farming, there is a need to retain efficient state and collective farms. You cannot destroy what is old and operating without creating what is new. Nor does "Russia's Choice" insist insist on the swift blanket privatization of land.

Many parties note the need to consider regional features in privatizing land. The "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc and the "Dignity and Charity" political movement insist on it. The parties also feel the need to elaborate legislative acts restricting abuses and the penetration of criminal capital into this milieu.

Our note. Anatoliy Nikolayevich Antonov is leader of the Center of Sociostrategic Studies and a doctor of philosophical sciences.

Shokhin, Melikyan, Zatylin Outline PRUA Election Platform

LD2211152993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1415 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—"The criteria of an acceptable pace of reforms is whether or not it allows us to maintain the social base for these reforms", Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin told a press conference on Monday [22 November]. "Unpopular reforms, if they are carried out without caution, could bring left- radicals to power", he added, referring to the communists.

Russian Labor Minister Gennadiy Melikyan and the leader of "Entrepeneurs for a New Russia", Kostantin Zatylin, also took part in the press conference. Along with the vice-premier, they are members of the electoral bloc, "The Party of Russian Unity and Accord" (PRUA).

Shokhin pointed out that one of the basic planks of PRUA's platform is economic federalism, which is impossible without tax and budget reform. These reforms are necessary so that the country's main financial resources become concentrated at the local level of government, according to Shokhin. In that case, the power of federal bureaucrats and flunkies would be broken and the state's power would increase, since it "would be cemented together by a new tax and budget system".

Shokhin also said some protectionist measures were necessary to shield native producers. In these he would include moderate export tariffs, encouraging the export of Russian capital and technical assistance, limitations on the operations of foreign banks and reasonable duties to be paid by weapons exporters.

Gennady Melikyan said his party supports reforms and the market economy, but has its own vision of the social effects. He thinks Russia should be able to provide the population more social security, even during rapid changes. A critical situation has arisen in several areas of Russia, caused by the possibility of hidden unemployment becoming an open problem. If that happens, Melikyan noted, he has serious doubts that Russia will be able to withstand the consequences of such a transformation.

Konstantin Zatulin then stressed that the entrepeneurs who support PRUA shoulder their responsibilities to those who cannot take care of themselves, like children, the elderly, and the handicapped. "We support PRUA most of all because the party's economic program includes the protection of local producers at a time when the country basically finances foreign industry and undermines our own production levels through unwise tax policies.

Civic Union, Russia's Future-New Names Election Broadcast

LD2211182393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 22 November broadcasts a program entitled "Russia Federal Assembly 94," billed as the first election program of this kind, introduced by Georgiy Georgiyevich Dolgov.

Taking part are representatives of the Civic Union, Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, Tatyana Viktorovna Novikova, chairwoman of the Youth for Russia charity, and Igor Yuryevich Yurgens, first deputy chairman of the Trade Union Federation. Taking part on behalf of the Russia's Future-New Names bloc are Vyacheslav Viktorovich Lashchevskiy, Vladimir Nikolayevich Mironov, and Oleg Vladimirovich Sokolov.

Following a brief election broadcast for the Civic Union, Arkadiy Volskiy describes his program. The sink or swim mentality attendant upon market relations is alien to him, he says.

Igor Yurgens says that Finance Minister Fedorov's forecast of next year's unemployment is around 10 million He likens this sort of situation with what is happening in Poland, where small towns used to employ most of their population at the only factory nearby—the only budget-financed areas were the police and the post office. This would be an explosive situation. Yurgens says he will introduce various measures—people will be able to gain new qualifications, the least well-off will be granted proper benefits, and he will introduce labor inspections

to prevent industrial accidents. Over the past three years Russia lost as many people through these as the Afghan war total, and the striking Vorkuta miners will surely confirm that annually 500 of their colleagues die in industrial accidents. Yes, we are for privatization and reforms, but not many people can bring themselves to believe in the Chubays- style privatization, when people fall victim to various swindles.

Tatyana Novikova says Civic Union is worried about the youth of today. People are afraid to walk the streets; they are afraid to leave their apartments. Annually between 17 and 20 percent of crimes are committed by young people; 80 percent of Muscovites never attend a classical concert. Our higher educational establishments educate people who subsequently emigrate. Over the past 20 years, the United States of America has satisfied 50 percent of its needs for qualified mathematicians through employing people from our country. President Yeltsin is quick to have forgotten the support young people gave him. One of the biggest problems is unemployment. Between 10 and 21 million young people—all our youth—will find themselves jobless in the near future. Over the first six months of the year, youth unemployment increased by more than 10 percent.

Arkadiy Volskiy recalls that Civic Union has already published its election program. We are not rejecting the market system, contrary to what was alleged recently. We are for reforms, but Gaydar's is not the only way. We differ where reform mechanisms are concerned. He gives examples of major works which had to lay people off.

Igor Yurgens says that government, trade unions, and entrepreneurs should get together to work things out, so that, for instance, miners' and geologists' strikes can be prevented. Of course, they will strike if no one pays them for three months running.

Tatyana Novikova then says Civic Union must set up a system of work with young people, underpinned by legislative acts.

Arkadiy Volskiy says tomorrow Civic Union's candidates will appear on OTV1, and thanks television viewers for their attention saying our success is your success.

Vyacheslav Viktorovich Lashchevskiy begins his contribution on behalf of the Russia's Future-New Names bloc. We believe in Russia's future, but we must think of it now. Our average age is 34, and we are ready to work hard, he says. Vladimir Nikolayevich Mironov says he worked for the Foreign Ministry. Oleg Vladimirovich Sokolov also introduces himself.

Lashchevskiy says that his party is not struggling for power. He thinks that politicians of a new generation are badly needed by the new Federal Assembly.

Sokolov says that the main aim of his party is to introduce new politicians, some fresh blood into the composition of the government.

Lashchevskiy then says that he has just come back from Nizhniy Novgorod where he had a chance to speak to young people who believe that the present system of governing can only be changed through introducing new people to politics. New people will be capable of working in new surroundings and within a new framework. He then goes on to say that the Russia's Future-New Names bloc is the bloc of new political thinking, new ideas, and new concepts. To prove this, both Lashchevskiy and Mironov take off their jackets and remain in their shirts.

Announcer Dolgov wonders if by taking one's jacket off one can prove that one possesses new political thinking.

Lashchevskiy then comments on Russian law enforcement bodies. He believes that they are working to the best of their abilities but the social conditions in which they are working prevent them from doing their job properly.

Mironov says that laws have to be respected by the whole state, however, Sokolov points out that Russia's legislative system should acquire some stability, and laws that are adopted today should not be abolished tomorrow.

Lashchevskiy then goes on to talk about economic reforms. He stresses the role of the oil and gas industry, pointing out at the same time, that oil extraction in Russia has suffered a considerable set back over the last year or two. He says that the gas and oil industry, if used properly, will bring Russia a lot of hard currency in the near future.

Mironov advocates the raising of pensions and allowances for single mothers.

Sokolov says that it is not enough to help people with money. Retired people and those on a lower income should be provided with state guarantees that they will be fed and looked after when or if they are unable to do so themselves. Sokolov believes in free education and free health care. All people should be given a chance to study, to develop, and to look after their health, regardless of their social status, he says. Sokolov emphasizes that some regions are already providing pensioners and people on a lower income with food, clothes, and other basic necessities. Sokolov advocates the "buy Russian" and "produce goods cheaply" approach.

Mironov says that the Russia's Future-New Names bloc believes in Russia's revival, he then produces a bottle of champagne and suggests a toast for Russia's wonderful future. All his party colleagues and announcer Dolgov join in.

Communists, Ecologists in Pre-Election TV Show

LD2211190393

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 22 November carries a program entitled "Elector's Hour". In the first part of the program, host Nina Berdnikova

interviews Gennadiy Zyuganov, Viktor Ilyukhin, and Vitaliy Sevostyanov, candidates of the Communist Party of Russia.

After an introduction by Zyuganov criticizing the policies of the current government, lawyer Ilyukhin discusses the lack of respect for law and order in Russian society, and its effect on the legitimacy of elections. Ilyukhin goes on to outline some of the policies of the Communist party directed at restoring economic law in Russia to its pre-1992 orientation.

Vitaliy Sevastyanov, a cosmonaut, also concentrates on criticizing the policies of the current government. He deplores Russia's loss of international prestige, referring in particular to aerospace. A general discussion follows between all three speakers on the consequences of Russia's new military doctrine for the arms industry.

Questioned on his proposed role in the State Duma, Zyuganov says that his party must concentrate on the new constitution, and on the potential for restrictions on the powers of the Duma if it is adopted in its present form. Ilyukhin criticizes the dictatorial nature of the draft new constitution. Sevostyanov agrees that the Duma must not simply become a rubber stamp for presidential decrees. He then decries what he calls the "deindustrialization" of the country.

Sevostyanov concludes by repeating the slogan of the Communist Party: fairness, labor, and people power.

The second part of the program is hosted by Larisa Verbitskaya, who begins by introducing the KEDR [Constructive Ecological Movement of Russia] bloc and listing its constituent parties, the leaders of which are shown sitting around a fireplace. Verbitskaya introduces each party leader in turn; their monologues are interspersed with 15-second clips encouraging viewers to vote for KEDR.

Anatoliy Panfilov, chairman of the bloc, summarizes his policy of encouraging eco-friendly industry by financial incentive.

Lyubov Lymar, leader of the Soldiers' Mothers' Association, deliveres an appeal on behalf of KEDR for voters to support their policy of helping soldiers' families.

Mikhail Kononov, introduced as an artiste, summarizes some details of ecological damage done to Russian villages, and what KEDR intends to do about it.

Vladimir Chiburyayev, doctor and head of the Russian public health directorate, praises KEDR's policies of improving public health and the legislation to support it.

Anatoliy Novokshonov, chairman of the Council of Industrial Directors, expresses his support for KEDR.

Oleg Kolbasov, president of the Russian Society for the Protection of Animals, outlines the society's aims and expresses support for KEDR's policy of uniting the efforts of society, the state, and commerce to tackle ecological problems.

Olga Babkina, leader of the Russian Union of Chernobyl Workers, says that her organization, like KEDR, is non-political, and that they share the aims of preventing any future Chernobyls and aiding those who suffered as a result of Chernobyl.

Andrey Sviridov, president of Uralinvest, a Chelyabinsk investment fund, says he was attracted by KEDR's lack of political ambition, and therefore calls on voters to support them.

Travkin Plans No Coalition With Any Party

LD2211203193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The leader of Russia's Democratic Party [DPR] Nikolay Travkin rules out his party's coalition with any other party or election alliance during the election campaign.

"This will put to test our ability to stay in politics on our own," Travkin told a news conference on Monday [22 November]. "If we fail to get the 5-percent clearance in the elections, we will have to re-arrange our relationships with regional branches," the DPR leader said.

At the same time Travkin said he was concerned about the decline in his party's popularity, indicated by the latest polls.

"However, as we have met with voters in various regions, we have not felt that. There is even greater interest in the DPR than a year ago," Travkin said.

He remarked that criticism was usually targeted at the leader. He said that political gambling was again confined to the "either Gaydar or the Communists" formula. He believes that the Communists pose no danger to Russia, because they are unable to win. He says that the greatest threat comes from "Russia's Choice." Travkin said that alliance controlled the mass media and finances, acted in a Bolshevist fashion and was trying to make the nation fit the Procrustean bed of theories that are not viable.

Russia's Choice Losing Popularity

LD2211204893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] An opinion poll which was held in Moscow on November 14 to 18 by the Independent Institute of Parliamentary Sociology, and which involved 1000 respondents, showed that the Russia's Choice election alliance is losing points. Similar opinion polls were held in the Chelyabinsk region (300 respondents) and Vladimir region (700 respondents).

In Moscow, the number of voters who are determined to take part in voting in favor of Russia's Choice has gone

down from 30% on November 11 to 22% on November 18, and in the Chelyabinsk Region from 29% to 17%.

In Moscow, the top leading parties also include the Yavlinskiy- Boldyrev-Lukin alliance (11%) and the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (5%). Next come the Democratic Party of Russia (4%), the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms (3%) and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (3%). Support for other parties does not exceed 1% - 2%.

The opinion poll also revealed that the rating of political parties reflects the rating of their leaders. Over the past seven days, the popularity of Yegor Gaydar, the leader of Russia's Choice, went down from 43% on November 11 to 38% on November 18, and that of Sergey Shakhray, the leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord - has grown from 27% to 34%.

The number of voters who will come to the polling stations on December 12 (49% in Chelyabinsk and 63% in Moscow) far exceeds the number of those who know for whom they will vote. Only 21% of the respondents in Moscow, 32% in Chelyabinsk and 18% in Vladimir have decided for whom they will vote.

Poll Shows Luzhkov Close Second Behind Yeltsin

MK2311110093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Yuliya Khaytina under the "Nonstop" rubric: "According to His Rating, Luzhkov Is Nearly President"]

[Text] According to the results of a public opinion poll conducted by Anatoliy Antonov's Social Strategic Studies Center, Boris Yeltsin is the front-runner in Moscow: 51 percent of those polled favor the current president. Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, who has won over the city's public opinion by tight measures aimed at bringing order to the capital (such as, the deportation of "guests" without Moscow residence permits), has seen his approval rating rise recently to an impressive 45 percent. The Council of Ministers chairman won an honorable third place in the list of authorities with 39 percent.

Muscovites have surprised pollsters by another curious expression of their sympathies: 43 percent of those polled said that they would definitely turn out for the 12 December elections, and 23 percent were "inclined" to do so. A total of 66 percent is a fairly impressive figure, Anatoliy Antonov said, because it confirms a drastic increase in society's degree of politicization after the October events.

As for the sentiments of the prospective voters in the elections for the Moscow Duma, the breakdown is virtually similar to the elections for the Federal Assembly. "Russia's Choice" is No. 1 with 33 percent. Notably, independent candidates have nearly the same number of supporters—30 percent. The other party blocs have more modest approval ratings, ranging from 1 to 11 percent.

Military & Space Issues

IZVESTIYA's Military Doctrine Scoop Criticized

PM1911151593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by Voldemar Koreshkov: "Is Publication in IZVESTIYA Official? Who Will Answer This Question?"]

[Text] Yesterday IZVESTIYA was the first newspaper to publish under the "Document" rubric the "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation."

Well, we can only congratulate our colleagues on somehow managing to obtain this document and being the first to cross the homestretch. But it is not clear whether this publication is official.

The thing is that the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 302 of 26 March 1992 "On the Procedure for Publishing and Validating Acts of the Russian Federation President and the Russian Federation Government" states that a publication made in SOBRANIYE AKTOV PREZIDENTA I PRAVITELSTVA ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSIY, in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, and in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI is deemed an official publication of the most important state documents.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 6 November this year also published the Russian Federation President's Edict No. 1833 of 2 November 1993 "On the Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation."

It published it, but... without the Basic Provisions. For Point 1 stated: "The 'Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation' (attached) are to be adopted," but a footnote amplfies: "not being distributed."

When we tried to ascertain from the Russian Federation Security Council whether something new had happened in respect of the Basic Provisions, it was explained to us that the president had given permission for this document to be published on the evening of 16 November.

But the text—we do not know why—reached the IZVESTIYA editorial office, and by no means ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

We will, of course, survive a backheel from individual officials or their impracticality. But what about the more than 800,000 subscribers who were deprived of the opportunity to familiarize themselves "at first hand" with the "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation," which concerns literally every Russian?

Who will answer this question?

Paper's Complaint Rebutted

PM2211094793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 1

[Commentary by Nikita Vaynonen: "I Hear From a Semiofficial Organ..."]

[Text] ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA yesterday carried an article entitled "Is Publication in IZVESTIYA Official? A Question to the Security Council." Our colleagues were offended that they were not given the text of the "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation" for publication. How, they said, could this be? It was given to an unofficial newspaper, while the official one was bypassed? Of course, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's concern for its readers, whom someone accidentally (hardly deliberately, after all) deprived of the possibility of familiarizing themselves with an important document, is perfectly understandable, but what can account for the fact that the editorial office directed its displeasure toward IZVESTIYA? ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is terribly upset that the IZVESTIYA people "somehow managed to obtain this document and were first past the post." If concern is to be shown for readers, they should, probably, only rejoice that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's subscribers have been joined by subscribers to other publications.

We want to reassure our colleagues. As they rightly report, according to the Russian Federation president's edict, publication in three publications—SOBRANIYE AKTOV PREZIDENTA I PRAVITELSTVA RF, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, and ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI—is deemed official. If the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA editorial office is alarmed that the doctrine did not come into force because they did not publish it, this is not so: Official publication took place in ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI. It is strange that ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA failed to notice this.

Our editorial office could probably even take umbrage at ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA: Why are they jealous of IZVESTIYA, but not of us? Of course, it is sad to observe how petty grudges against one another are mixed up with the interests of the matter in question. Probably every newspaper person will understand how keenly this occurrence was felt in the corridors and offices of friendly ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and how smiles were hidden in friendly IZVESTIYA. But why air this in public? Why show the public how you yearn for the time when there were more important and less important newspapers?

Altercations between editorial offices have become the fashion. This can not only spoil the reputation of the press but also hinder the resolution of really important problems. For the question which ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA included in the headline, if asked without ambition, really does make you think. If, on the one hand, the authorities prescribe that only documents published in official publications come into force, and, on the other, those same power circles voice the opinion that there is no need for official publications at all, then you clearly cannot square that particular circle.

Military Expert Explains New Military Doctrine

AU2211134093 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 20 Nov 93 p 10

[Article by Yuriy Nazarkin, "one of the most renowned Russian military experts" and head of the administration of the apparatus of the Security Council: "From a Means of Armed Combat to a Political Holding Factor"]

[Text] Recently the Security Council of the Russian Federation approved the "Basic Provisions of Russian Federation Military Doctrine," which document was subsequently confirmed by the president.

This document is part of the general security concept of the Russian Federation and defines ways and means to ensure the state's military security during the transition period, in which the nature of the Russian state is shaped, democratic reforms are implemented, and a new system of international relations is developed. Accordingly, it is expected that the "Basic Provisions" will be supplemented, fleshed out, and improved.

The innovations of the "Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine" compared with the doctrinary goals of the former Soviet Union in the military field will be briefly discussed below.

It is notable that the term "potential enemy" is no longer used. The Russian Federation no longer considers any individual state as its potential enemy. Instead of classifying other states as friend or foe (in the past this classification was primarily based on ideological elements), the new military doctrine is based on a different principle: identification of the threat to the vital interests of the Russian Federation and, thereafter, determination of appropriate ways and means to react.

While Russia considers all states as partners in maintaining world peace and security, in the "Basic Provisions" priority is given to cooperation among the CIS states in dealing with the problems of collective defense and security as well as in coordinating military policy and reconstruction in the defense sector. The same importance is attributed to the reestablishment and mutually beneficial expansion of the cooperation relations between the armament companies and branch-related research institutes of the CIS states.

While consideration is given to the international situation, conditions for overcoming the confrontation caused by ideology, expansion of partnership and comprehensive cooperation, confidence- building in the military field, the reduction of nuclear and conventional arms, and political, diplomatic, and other peaceful means are gaining in priority for ensuring military security. At the same time, in individual cases—e.g. for

defense against an aggression, in peacemaking operations, and for putting an end to border and domestic conflicts—the use of military force is legitimate.

The document stresses that Russia will use its armed forces and other troops against any state only for individual and collective self-defense in the event of an armed attack against the Russian Federation, its citizens, armed forces, other troops, its sovereign territory, or its allies.

The "Basic Provisions" proceeds from the premise that stability and peace are primarily threatened by local wars and armed conflicts under the conditions of a smaller though not completely abolished threat of nuclear or conventional world war; the likelihood of local wars and armed conflicts breaking out is increasing in individual regions. The document sees social, political, economic, territorial, religious, national, ethnic, and other contradictions and the striving of some states and political forces to solve these contradictions by means of an election campaign [Wahlkampf, as published] as the decisive causes of military threat, armed conflicts, and wars.

This is undoubtedly a new aspect of the above-mentioned approach. Let us recall that only a few years ago the Soviet Union qualified the United States and its West European allies as the most important source of threat; the focal issue were preparations for a dimensioned [dimensioniert] war with the use of conventional and nuclear weapons.

Policy concerning nuclear weapons has also been made more precise. The "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine" affirmed the complete abolition of nuclear weapons as a final goal and interprets the role of nuclear weapons, as long as they exist, definitively as a means of holding off aggression against the Russian Federation and its allies.

In the past there were many uncertainties in this respect, which sometimes contradicted each other. Probably for purely populist considerations, the Soviet leadership harshly criticized the concept of nuclear deterrence and, at the same time, steadily increased its nuclear potential. Naturally, the question arose: Why does the Soviet Union need nuclear weapons, if it suppresses their character as a deterrent?

Now the nuclear weapons have been freed from this contradiction and are no longer considered as a means of armed combat but as a political holding factor [politischer Hinhaltefaktor].

As is known, in 1982 the Soviet Union declared its intention not to be first to use nuclear weapons. This means that it will use nuclear weapons only as retaliation in the event of a nuclear attack. According to the above-mentioned declaration, an aggression against the Soviet Union without nuclear weapons did not give it the right to use nuclear weapons against the aggressor. Of course, this declaration to a certain extent devalued the role of nuclear weapons as a deterrent.

The "Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine" does not contain any guideline that it will use its nuclear weapons only in the event of a nuclear attack. This means that nuclear weapons could also be used in the event of a conventional attack. The possibility of using nuclear weapons as ultimate retaliation against an aggressor enhances their role as a deterrent. In addition, one must not overlook the possibility of an enemy's making a conventional attack on civilian and military nuclear facilities on Russian territory as well as on the security systems of the strategic nuclear forces of the Russian Federation. The consequences of such attacks can be compared with the effects of nuclear attacks. As is known, the Western states, too, advocate the concept that nuclear weapons can be used in retaliation not only against nuclear attacks.

It is also important that, in accordance with the "Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine," the nuclear umbrella covers both the Russian Federation and its allies, that is, states that have assumed responsibility for mutual military aid toward Russia. Such states are the participants in the CIS collective security system.

The security guarantees of the nuclear-free states have also been formulated more precisely. The new formula says that nuclear weapons may be used against a nuclear-free state that is a party to the Nonproliferation Treaty only if that state attacks Russia or its allies and has concluded a military agreement with a nuclear state for this purpose or acts together with it. (The previous formula said: "The Soviet Union will never use nuclear weapons against states that renounce the production and purchase of these weapons and have not stationed them on their territory.")

According to the new formula, the stationing of nuclear weapons (of another state) on the territory of a nuclear-free state that is a party to the Nonproliferation Treaty is no reason to exclude this state from the guarantee formula. On the other hand, that state should renounce nuclear weapons only within the framework of the Nonproliferation Treaty, that is, not in any other way, e.g. through unilateral declarations.

The provisions on nuclear weapons are oriented toward measures to intensify the nonproliferation mode and make it universal. The need to establish conditions for the unlimited duration of the Nonproliferation Treaty and the expansion of the circle of participants is pointed out.

The international circumstances that have developed have given rise to another important function of the armed forces and other troops of the Russian Federation—peacekeeping operations on the basis of UN Security Council decisions and in accordance with the international obligations of the Russian Federation. These operations are intended to establish the conditions for a political settlement of an armed conflict.

Finally, there is the third possibility to use military force and apply the "Basic Provisions of the Russian Federation Military Doctrine." This is to put an end to armed conflicts or to any illegal use of weapons at the state border, at the border of another state, in accordance with the Russian Federation's duties arising from a treaty, or on its territory if it threatens Russia's vital interests. The task of preventing and ending internal conflicts in Russia is primarily assigned to the organs and troops of the Interior Ministry. In order to localize and cordon off the area of conflict, to end armed conflicts, to separate the warring parties, and to protect strategically important objects, individual formations of the armed forces and other troops of the Russian Federation can be included in the legal method of action.

According to the "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine," troops and facilities may be stationed outside Russian territory. Russian troops may be present there both within the framework of the common CIS groups and as Russian groups and individual bases (facilities). In this connection, it is necessary to regulate the legal status of the Russian troops, military bases, and facilities on the territory of other states by means of bilateral agreements.

At the end of the 1980's the Soviet Union adopted the so-called military defense doctrine, which placed professional soldiers both in the Soviet Union and abroad in a helpless position. According to this doctrine, military operations to avert an aggression were to be carried out exclusively on Soviet territory.

This absurd regulation has now been abolished, even though the doctrine's defense orientation has not been affected in the least.

New political, geostrategic, and economic conditions have given rise to another innovation. As a result of the general reduction of personnel in the armed forces, their mobility is increased. According to the regulations, the armed forces must be ready to regroup at short notice to face threats, to carry out active defense and attack operations in the event of any armed conflicts and wars, in which timely and future means of destruction could be used on a massive scale. Accordingly, in terms of military technology, the mobile conventional means of destruction are to be safeguarded.

It is planned to staff the forces on the basis of contracts (what is meant is a combined system of staffing; voluntary contract service and basic military service according to the ex-territorial [exterritorial] principle).

The social aspects of ensuring the military security of the Russian Federation have also largely been taken into account. This applies mainly to the social protection of the members of the armed forces and their families, and to those who have been discharged from service.

The time is past when vast resources were sacrificed to the military Moloch at the expense of the people's social needs. Now we are required to maintain the defense potential in accordance with the existing military threats and the threats that can be expected, with consideration for the country's economic capacity and population.

Of course, the "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine" takes into consideration the fact that in the future military security must also be ensured during the transition to a market economy. Therefore, corresponding financial and economic levers are to be introduced, the economic interest of companies with different forms of ownership in the development and production of weapons and military technology is to be stimulated, and the orders to develop and produce military and militarily oriented products are to be handed out on the basis of contracts and competitions.

In short, the "Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine" defines strictly defense-oriented activities to ensure the military security of Russia and its allies and reinforce Russia's goal of averting war and armed conflicts.

Grachev Issues Order on Rocket Troops, Artillery Day

PM2211165793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 1

["Russian Federation Defense Minister's Order of the Day No. 524" dated Moscow, 20 November 1993]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, ensigns, warrant officers, and officers!

Comrade scientists, engineers, and technicians of the defense industry!

Esteemed veterans of the rocket troops and artillery!

On 21 November 1993 the Russian Federation and its Armed Forces celebrate Rocket Troops and Artillery Day.

The history of our rocket troops and artillery enshrines the labor feat of scientists, engineers, and workers and the courage, bravery, and valor of rocket men and artillerymen. This festival entered the history of Russia during the grim years of the Great Patriotic War. All compatriots make a deep obeisance and express profound appreciation and gratitude to all who defended our motherland's freedom and independence in cruel battles.

The historical continuity of the courage, honor, and dignity of the fatherland's defenders and of their loyalty to their military duty is maintained and augmented by the rocket servicemen and the artillerymen of the Army and the Navy.

During the complex period of the reforming of the Russian state and of its Army and Navy they are successfully resolving operational-strategic tasks and improving their tactical training and professional skill.

I greet and congratulate you on the festival—Rocket Troops and Artillery Day!

I wish rocket men and artillerymen, veterans, scientists, and working people of the defense industry successes in resolving the current tasks in the matter of ensuring the country's security, health, happiness, and prosperity.

To mark Rocket Troops and Artillery Day I order:

At 2100 hours on 21 November 1993, local time, festive fireworks are to be let off in the capital of our motherland—the hero-city of Moscow—and in the hero-cities of St. Petersburg, Volgograd, Novorossiysk, Tula, Murmansk, and Smolensk.

[Signed] Army General P. Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense

Kokoshin Says Defense Industry Needs Special Attention

LD2211225993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1335 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov—The defense industry is in need of the state's special attention and of assistance, both in the implementation of the state's defense order and in the implementation of conversion programs. The Russian president's decree "on the stabilization of the economic situation of defense industry enterprises and organizations in ensuring the state defense order," which was signed on 6 November 1993, is directed precisely toward this end.

This was stated today in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent by First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin. Speaking of the need for this document to be issued, he pointed out that a very tricky situation is developing at defense complex enterprises. For example, in 1992 the state defense order was reduced by 65-67 percent, supplies of materials and assembly components which existed up to 1993 were exhausted by the middle of 1993, and the level of wages at defense production facilities is 1.6 times lower than in the machine-building industry as a whole.

In Andrey Kokoshin's opinion, an urgent need has arisen to ensure, commencing 1994, a precise monthly or quarterly financing of the state defense order and the activities of the Russian Armed Forces, taking into account the rate of inflation, together with the compulsory issuing of funds in advance for enterprises supplying the Armed Forces.

Regarding the supplies of armaments and equipment to the Russian Armed Forces, Andrey Kokoshin pointed out that all orders are in the main being fulfilled. For example, for armor, artillery, ammunition, and the anti-aircraft missile complexes, the orders for the nine months of this year have been fulfilled. The situation with more complex technology is rather worse, where there are a greater number of related suppliers, with over 1,000 enterprises involved.

In the opinion of Russia's first deputy defense minister, the implmentation of this decree should reduce social tension in defense enterprise collectives. For example, this document means that a wage level of eight instead of four minimum monthly salaries may be established for workers in the military-industrial complex, and up to nine such monthly salaries for workers in the nuclear industry. According to Andrey Kokoshin, the Defense Ministry is also proposing that the Russian Government review the question so that the more highly qualified specialists of the military-industrial complex are paid as much as they would be for manufacturing profit-making "civilian" output.

Commentary Views Nuclear Warhead Issue

LD1911232893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2123 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Commentary by Marina Deykun over archive video; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The documents adopted in the CIS do not specify which state nuclear weapons belong to. In reality, three states apart from Russia possess such weapons at present—Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. In total, there are over 3,000 strategic warheads and bombs on their territory. Of the three, only Belarus has unconditionally renounced the nuclear state status. As for Ukraine and Kazakhstan, even though they realize that one way or another they will have to give up their nuclear weapons, they are trying to get as much U.S. aid as possible for this. Almaty has been promised $85 million in exchange for a nuclear-free status. Let me remind you that in Kazakhstan there are some 100 nuclear missiles, and also the major test range in Semipalatinsk.

Ukraine has been promised $330 million by the United States, even though Kiev's estimates put the money necessary for the dismantling at no less than $2.5 billion. The situation is complicated by the fact that Kiev's nuclear forces are subordinate both to the Ukrainian Defense Ministry and to the Command of the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS. Meanwhile Ukraine cannot provide technical maintenance of its nuclear forces, and so Russia insists that the withdrawal of all nuclear ammunition should start as early as 1 January. The withdrawal has to be completed in 24 months, otherwise experts believe we could have a tragedy even more terrible than Chernobyl.

In addition another question is as yet unresolved: Will all the nuclear warheads be dismantled? This is because in disregard of international agreements concluded earlier, Ukraine's parliament does not want to hand over all its nuclear weapons to Russia. [Video, parts of it marked "ITA Archives" and other parts "Filmed by Radar association," shows missiles, silos, delivery vehicles, other nuclear installations.]

Article Views Draft in Baltic Fleet, Contract Service

WS2311111793 Kaliningrad STRAZH BALTIKI in Russian 11 Nov 93 p 2

[Article by A. Maniyutin: "There Are Practically No Refusers"]

[Excerpts] Today, we remember the recent times with slight sadness, when a draft campaign was a national matter in the country. The best of our young boys and girls received Komsomol permits to serve in model military units, while songs were written about the valiant Soviet Army. You might say that I have gone too far—there was more pathos than business. Maybe, but things were moving ahead in general! At least, the situation was not so deplorable as it is today, when thousands of potential recruits throughout the country refuse to serve in the Army and the fleet. Officers must literally catch and personally bring them to reporting centers. The situation is similar throughout the country. It is not typical of Kaliningrad Oblast. This may be explained by the fact that up to 90 percent of draftees remain to serve in the oblast.

As time has shown, the geographic position of the oblast is not too conducive to the prestige of military service. This is the case even in Baltiysk, where most young men come from military families. The wave of refusals has also reached the chief fleet base, although the situation is not so woeful as it might seem at first glance.

"As of 1 October, a draft campaign began in Baltiysk, as well as throughout the country," says Baltiysk City Commissar Colonel V. Kochergin. "Today, we have registered 90 percent of all draftees at reporting centers, although not all potential recruits have been called up. About 10 percent turned out to be unfit for military service due to poor health, and for 30 percent of potential servicemen, the draft was canceled. I would like to note that there are no mass refusals. Former convicts usually refuse to serve." [passage omitted]

Achievements in contract service are far more convincing. The city call-up office alone has received 291 people who expressed the desire to serve on contract. Moreover, the fleet has already exhausted its limit of servicemen on contract. There are 160 women serving in the Baltic Fleet Marines brigade alone, and some of them are even officers.

This year's contracts on military service in the Russian Armed Forces have shown that the majority of people who concluded them are Russian citizens in the reserve (44 percent) and former draftees (39 percent); 17 percent of them are women, and only 0.1 percent are current recruits. The facts prove that contract service is popular among those who know military service from practice. [passage omitted]

Shortage of Draftees Imperils Pacific Fleet Readiness

PM2211151193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Vladimir Shirokov and Andrey Gavrilenko under "Events and Commentary" rubric: "Far East Draft: Unfavorable Forecast"]

[Excerpts] Manpower acquisition in Pacific Fleet units and ships during the fall draft could exceed the critical level.

Even taking into account the reductions there are now military units in the Far East whose sailor acquisition level is no more than 10 percent. [passage omitted]

According to data from the Pacific Fleet Headquarters Registration and Manpower Acquisition Section almost one-half of sailors who came into the fleet did not complete their secondary education, and during the spring draft there were instances when young sailors had great difficulty in reading syllable-by-syllable.

One-fifth of servicemen performing service in the Pacific Fleet have previous convictions or have been arrested by the militia. This is the reason why, though the Pacific Fleet's total number of personnel has been cut, an increase in the number of crimes committed by sailors performing compulsory service has been recorded. Desertion or evading military service account for over 60 percent of crimes.

With this draft contingent, given that contract servicemen have not yet become professionals with the appropriate attitude toward service, in the short term the Pacific Fleet will find it extremely difficult to maintain the level of readiness which it had proved possible to regain after a long decline in combat readiness.

Pacific Fleet Facing Dire Financial Situation

LD2211222393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 22 Nov 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Defense Ministry]

[Text] An emergency financial situation has developed in the units and formations of the Pacific Fleet. Because of chronic nonpayment, the Far East steamship line refuses to give the fleet vessels to take military shipments. In this connection, problems have arisen in transporting fuel and foodstuffs to remote posts.

The Pacific Fleet is also in debt to Aeroflot. Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir (Dudka), head of the financial service of the Pacific Fleet, told journalists that there was not even any money to pay servicemen their wages. He noted that the fleet command had many times appealed for help to the main headquarters of the Russian Navy. Both

the defense minister and the Russian Federation Government know about the disastrous situation. Meanwhile, the financial situation gets worse and worse.

Missile Forces Commander Interviewed

PM2211110193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Nov 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Colonel General Igor Dmitriyevich Sergeyev, commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces, by Colonel Anatoliy Belousov and Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr Dolinin; place and date not given: "You Cannot Number Missilemen Among the Elite"]

[Text] Colonel General Igor Dmitriyevich Sergeyev is commander in chief of the Strategic Missile Forces. He began his career in the forces at their inception after graduating with distinction from the Black Sea Higher Naval College named for P.S. Nakhimov. He has held engineering, command, and staff posts and prior to his appointment as commander in chief was Strategic Missile Forces deputy commander for combat training. Igor Dmitriyevich is a constant reader of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and is a long-standing contributor to it.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Igor Dmitriyevich, the Federation Council recently approved "The Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation." In light of those provisions what role and place do the Strategic Missile Forces have?

[Sergeyev] The Strategic Missile Forces are the main component of Russia's strategic nuclear forces and form the basis of its nuclear might. This might, as formulated very precisely for the first time in the Russian military doctrine, is a political means deterring any aggressor from launching war against Russia and is a guarantee of stability in the world. It is these doctrinal provisions that also underpin what I would call our nontraditional approaches toward the preparation and training of troops, which I would are based on the realities of life. The most important thing for us is to maintain the combat and mobilization readiness of the Missile Forces at a level ensuring the guaranteed fulfillment of the set combat tasks in any conditions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How can combat training be organized when there is a great shortage of personnel and materiel and meager finance?

[Sergeyev] We are seeking to resolve the problem not by the number of measures but primarily by increasing the return from those measures. The basis in drafting plans is to evaluate every measure according to the criteria of "efficiency, cost, feasibility." We bolster all this with appropriate organizational work at all levels to ensure that the planned measures are fulfilled not only on schedule but also to the required standard and that the combat skills of control organs and the troops are increased at minimum cost. Measures are better planned and more carefully prepared now. In 1994, as calculations show, we will be able to sharply reduce material and financial expenditure on implementing them.

In the light of this we are paying greater attention to such active forms of combat training as command staff exercises and training classes. We are steadily introducing computer war games. This enables commanders and staffs to improve the means and methods of troop control without staging large-scale exercises. Although, of course, we cannot dispense with operational exercises entirely. We hold considerably fewer of them now, but they are more intensive and have the appropriate scientific support. We enlist scientists, methodology experts, and professors and lectureers from missile forces higher educational institutions [VUZ's] in preparing and carrying out these exercises. For instance, Colonel General Yu. Plotnikov, chief of the F.E. Dzerzhinskiy Military Academy, Major General V. Goryntsev and Major General V. Novikov, who are college chiefs, and their teaching staff are taking part in an exercise currently being held at the end of the summer training period with one large strategic formation.

Guideline documents on combat training are being prepared in a new way. Each year organizational-methodological instructions are drawn up and issued in the forces. Now it has become necessary to alter the structure and content of this fundamental document. In view of the objective financial limitations that exist, it is exceptionally important to find compensatory measures making it possible to make the correct decisions in the real situation and ensure the fulfillment at reduced cost of the tasks entrusted to the Missile Forces by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and the Armed Forces General Staff.

We are formulating such methods and incorporating them in the organizational-methodological instructions for troop training in the 1994 training year. The main means whereby we plan to ensure the fulfillment of the set tasks are the integration [kompleksirovaniye] of measures and, I repeat, a high level of organization in their preparation and implementation. In the search for new approaches we are not forgetting accumulated experience. In the system of organization of combat training, for example, operational control centers have performed well in the Missile Forces. These are not so much control organs as a necessary component of the organizational work of the main command of the Strategic Missile Forces which commands large strategic formations in the interests of the commanders of combined and other units. The tasks resolved among the troops are carefully analyzed here each day. The aim is to rectify the situation promptly if necessary and help commanders to support the combat training process given the present meager appropriations and the shortage of resources.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] How much has the role of military councils changed in the new conditions, and what influence do they have on the combat training of missilemen?

[Sergeyev] Even before the adoption of the new Statute on the Activity of Military Councils we in the Missile Forces elaborated a new concept which accords and corresponds with the realities of our time and changed the system of their work. For example, we asked ourselves the question: Who should determine the main areas of the work of military councils at the operational level? In the past this directive was handed down from the top in the form of a circular, but the actual conditions and characteristics of the tasks to be resolved in a given period were not always taken into account. When determining topics the idea was that within a year all the main elements of activity should be examined, although in principle this was unnecessary. Now the agendas of sessions of the military councils are dictated by expediency. The commanding officer, as chairman of the military council, should have complete freedom of action. As the man on the spot he should know best what problems need comprehensive and competent discussion. Although recommendations from above cannot be ruled out, of course.

The sessions themselves are being prepared in a new way too. Prior to sessions working groups visit the localities to detrmine the problems that merit attention and seek ways of resolving them. This helps to bring our work closer to troops' needs.

There are more extramural sessions held actually in the divisions, where in addition to the discussion of problems, practical classes for the training of commanders and service chiefs are organized and urgent questions are resolved on the spot. In other words, everything is designed to ensure that training within the troops is organized in the light of the interests of combat readiness.

To increase the effectiveness of military council sessions, their decrees are sent to the corresponding services, directorates, and even large units. Orders or directives are issued on the results of the military councils' work and on the resolutions consequently adopted. They are used by the corresponding commanders and chiefs to exercise the control of troops.

It is important to note that the military council today is not the "purgatory" that it used to be in the old days, it is not even a service conference. It is a council of military people. Through this council the command has an organ which can be confidently relied on before making an important decision. But of course the military council does not share responsibility for the decision with the sole commander.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] You have raised the question of one-man command. In present-day conditions, it seems to us, this problem is far from simple...

[Sergeyev] One-man command was and will remain the basis of the Army. And the conditions for the establishment of one-man command have improved. Problems are emerging elsewhere. The functions of oversight and counterbalance in the form of political organs have disappeared, though these organs often tried to share one-man command, which, of course, cannot be allowed. This hampered intelligent and independent commanders with the ability to use their power in accordance with the laws and regulations. I could name dozens of commanders who can take a firm stand and need no tutelage, men such as Major General Yu. Gordeyev, Major General V. Dremov, Major General V. Kalyanov, and Major General A. Gribov.

Among command personnel, however, there are still those who become intoxicated by power, who usurp it, and who crush their deputies. Then a love of power and a disrespect for one's subordinates appear. That is when you need a counterweight, not one which undermines one-man command but one which strengthens it. It takes the form of the public, first and foremost the Officers Assembly, as well as senior commanders. There is much to be done here. The role of Officers Assemblies has to be developed and the responsibiity of senior officers enhanced. I think that they, and that includes me, are still not sufficiently involved in the professional development of subordinate tactical commanders and have direct contact with them only from one inspection to the next. When dealing with a divisional commander, a regimental commander, especially one who has for the first time been given power over a large military collective, we must give greater attention and help in strengthening one-man command.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] In the Strategic Missile Forces there are many restrictions when working with military hardware. Are training simulators the solution?

[Sergeyev] A substantial training infrastructure has been created within the forces. At our plants we make simulators which are sometimes more complex than actual combat equipment. These simulators are a complete counterpart of a missile complex in all functional modes. They are used for the technical and psychological training of missile men because you cannot carry out the full training cycle using combat hardware. For training purposes combat hardware can only be used for prelaunch operations without triggering a series of missile launches.

The agency responsible for organizing all the work surrounding training and exercise facilities is the scientific and technical center, where high-class specialists work today. They can perform the whole cycle of work—from developing programs through to scientific and technical monitoring of them in the forces.

The creative search of the combat training specialists is developing in other areas too. For example, videos are being made for training purposes on the organization and methodology of the work of commanders and the work of officers and warrant officers. Videos are becoming a firm part of the combat training of missilemen. Cable TV studios, of which there are over 20 in the forces, have become involved too. With their help advanced experience of performing alert duty, of servicing missile hardware, and of exercises and special

classes is promptly made available to commanders and all missile officers. The future belongs to modern training resources like these.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] All combat training is aimed at ensuring that missile men successfully perform alert duty tasks in peacetime and whatever they are instructed to do in an emergency situation. In view of the objective difficulties that exist today, what compensatory measures are being taken in the Missile Forces to ensure that there is no lowering of the level of alert duty?

[Sergeyev] We will not allow any lowering of the level of alert duty, and we are taking all possible measures to ensure this. In view of the personnel shortage we are optimizing the shifts of alert duty forces, assigning staff there first of all, and setting priorities. Graduates of missile troop VUZ's are allocated to combat units only. We are changing the attitude toward alert duty in the central apparatus. The Strategic Missile Forces leadership now performs alert duty itself, which makes it possible to directly influence the situation at local level and take vigorous measures to eliminate shortcomings that emerge. I myself in the near future will be taking my place on alert duty. I will be accompanied at combat posts by commanders of combined units and commanding officers of large strategic formations. These measures are also among the compensatory measures that you spoke of.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] The Strategic Missile Forces are stationed in four states today—Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. What difficulties does that situation create?

[Sergeyev] Take Belarus and Kazakhstan, for example. Of course there are difficulties there with the servicing of missile hardware and armaments and the supply to troops of everything that they need. Officers, warrant officers, and their families are experiencing financial difficulties. There are other problems too, but people understand that and are not giving up in despair.

The situation in Ukraine is worrying. Primarily with regard to nuclear safety. There are many problems here. The important thing now is to ensure that the Massandra agreements are implemented in full.

On the whole, stable centralized management of the 43d Army, which is stationed in Ukraine, is being maintained. It is being maintained by the good understanding between the leadership of the Strategic Missile Forces and the commanding officer, Lieutenant General Mikhtyuk.

...In conclusion, I would like to say that missile troops have never been regarded as an elite and that is especially true today. The officer corps, warrant officers, sergeants, ordinary soldiers, and civilian personnel are making truly heroic efforts to extend the service life of missile arms and equipment, save resources, maintain combat readiness, and prevent the level of alert duty from declining...

On the eve of our holiday I would like to wish missilemen endurance, patience, and confidence in their own abilities. No one apart from us is going to resolve the specific tasks which have been entrusted to the Strategic Missile Forces.

Border Guards Commander Views Current Tasks

LD2211115693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—More than three thousand people have been detained by Russian border troops since the beginning of this year in the attempt to illegally cross the country's borders. Border control units and formations have let more than 32 million people and about four million vehicles cross the border in 1993 (as against 13.8 and 1.4 million respectively during the entire 1992). In cooperation with customs officers they seized 3.6 billion roubles in contraband, some one thousand firearms and a large amount of drugs and ammunition. These data were brought in by the commander of the border troops of the Russian Federation, Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS.

"Our people are doing everything in their power and more to fulfil the task set before them", the commander stressed. He said the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remained very tense and alarming. In October alone, the border posts and barracks of border troops in Tajikistan came under fire 55 times, including 27 times from the Afghan side. Border guards were involved in battles 18 times. As a result sixteen transgressors were killed and three wounded. Four borderguards were wounded.

According to General Nikolayev the leaders of the Islamic Renaissance Party's armed formations held conferences in the Afghan border town of Imamsahib and the Pyanj district of Tajikistan to coordinate actions of the opposition forces. "The conferences worked out plans for combat activities at the border and in the border areas of the republic and adopted decisions on stepping up the activity of armed groups from Afghanistan on Tajik territory. The total amount of people in these groups reaches 5,000 men. Among their tasks are acts of terror against the officers of the Pyanj border detachment whom the Islamists blame for causing most losses to their forces".

The general said the situation remained very complex in the Transcaucasian region due to military hostilities in Georgia. Russian border troops, particularly coastguards, have found themselves in the epicentre of the latest developments.

Problems confronting borderguards in the country's northwest, the commander said, are related primarily to the fact that "territorial claims of Latvia and Estonia to Russia are still on the agenda". In the opinion of the commander, smugglers are also a headache in this region. This year alone, border guards and customs officials succeeded in preventing

the illegal export from the Russian federation from Russia to the Baltic countries of a thousand tonnes of non-ferrous metals and more than 300 tonnes of fuel and lubricating materials. They seized more than 150 kilograms of narcotics, 49 firearms and 254 thousand cartridges, general Nikolayev said.

The commander expressed satisfaction with the manning of the border troops with fresh recruits by the general staff of the Russian armed forces, which will undoubtedly help the border troops cope successfully with the tasks set for them by the government.

Chemical Troops' 75th Anniversary Celebrated

PM1911133593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Nov 93

[By S. Tolstoy and M. Zverev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Radiation, Chemical, and Biological Defense Troops marked their 75th anniversary today. Let me remind you that the question of why we had such large chemical troops was constantly cropping up at international talks at all levels. It was implied that the Russians a whole, and their chemical troops in particular, were aggressive. The "VoyenTV" studio will try to persuade us otherwise in the following report, in which you will see shots which until recently were classified "For Official Use Only."

[Tolstoy, over video of soldiers in protective clothing washing down trucks in a field, captioned "VoyenTV" (Military TV Studio)] The Radiation, Chemical, and Biological Defense Troops are 75 years old today. Literally on the eve of their jubilee they changed their name. Here is why:

[S. Petrov, chief of Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Radiation, Chemical, and Biological Defense Troops] The historical status of the troops has been restored. Originally, these troops were established and intended to perform defensive functions.

[Tolstoy] Not only the military have been aware of the existence of these troops. However, the civilians' knowledge of the nature of their work comes more from hearsay. Few have been able to see what they do. And fortunately so, because what these troops sometimes have to do in peacetime differs little from real combat situations. Special subunits of these troops are always present wherever there is a tragedy, where there are no spectators, only victims whose lives they are called upon to save. This is what happened during the Chernobyl catastrophe, and at other trouble spots where they acted as a first aid unit and to clean up the effects of dangerous contamination. [Video shows troops cleaning vehicles, interview, shots of Chernobyl, troops in action in an area marked "contaminated".]

Add-on Boosters Seen as Solution to Heavier Rocket Payloads

PM2211161193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 93 First Edition p 15

[Report by Boris Konovalov: "Preparations for Mars Proved Useful for Near-Earth Orbits"]

[Text] Soviet rockets are renowned for their proven reliability in flight, but in recent years modern satellites and space vehicles have become increasingly heavy, and this burden is proving to be too much for our veterans.

The natural path is modernization and replacing rockets, but it is a long one and, most importantly, requires great expenditure. The Lavochkin science and production association's proposal to produce a universal final stage for all types of domestically produced rockets has therefore proved to be a real "lifesaver" for our space program.

This project's simple genius resides in the fact that, without changing a ready-made rocket, for instance a Korolev R-7 or a Chelomey "Proton," another booster stage can be added to it. The rocket will then be able to lift a heavier satellite. It is important that expensive ground-based launch complexes do not have to be changed either .

The "Fregat" universal booster stage unit was being developed at the Lavochkin scientific production association for the Mars project, but it now turns out that it can help all other Russian programs. Bon voyage, "Fregat."

Space Research Capsule Returned From Orbit

LD2111110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1055 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] Space Mission Control Centre November 21 TASS—A ballistic capsule installed on board the cargo-spaceship "Progress M-20" has been brought down from the orbit on Sunday.

The capsule contains the data of geophysical, biotechnical and astrophysical experiments carried out on board the orbital station Mir.

The cargo spaceship was disconnected from the Mir station at 5:36 a.m. Moscow time. Then the spaceship was brought down to a trajectory of descent. The ballistic capsule separated from the spaceship at a designed altitude.

The Progress M-20 entered thick layers of the earth atmosphere and ceased to exist. The capsule continued descent on parachute and made a soft landing at the designed area at 12:03 p.m. Moscow time.

Economic Issues

Gerashchenko on Yeltsin's Foreign Banks Edict

LD2211215493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2133 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Perkina]

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree restricting the activity of foreign banks in Russia was not agreed with the Central Bank of Russia, its chairman Viktor Gerashchenko said on Monday [22 November].

Speaking on Russian television late on Monday, Gerashchenko said "Our politics was based on the understanding that we need foreign investments. The appearance of foreign banks would only make the activity of Russian commercial banks healthier."

"The decree is odd because it contradicts the letter sent by the president three months ago, on August 16, to the Supreme Soviet after the second reading of the banking legislation in which he said, quite correctly, that restrictions on the activity of foreign banks contradict the law on foreign investments," Gerashchenko said.

He said the only explanation for the president's decision is that "in the run up to the upcoming elections some commercial banks which would like to develop as monopolists but fear competition exerted certain pressure on the presidential staff which has led to the issuing of the decree."

Gerashchenko also denied rumours about his possible resignation.

Shokhin Questions Edict

LD2211165693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1453 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] President Yeltsin's recent decree to restrict foreign banks' activity in Russia could cause problems in negotiations with the EC, said Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin, responsible for foreign economic relations, at a news conference in Moscow on Monday [22 November].

The decree provides for a temporary ban (until January 1, 1996) on operations with Russian residents for foreign banks which did not begin this activity before November 15, 1993.

In Shokhin's words, at his talks with EC officials, an agreement was reached "on a different concept of deletions from the national legislation" for foreign banks, and the presidential decree took him aback.

He recalled that the negotiating partners had agreed on limits to the size of deposits (over 100,000 ECUs), which would deny foreign banks an opportunity to work with smaller depositors, and prohibit transactions with privatization vouchers and other Russian securities. The restrictions were intended for five years.

Equally unexpected for Shokhin was the president's decree to set up a Russian munitions corporation, a monopoly organization on the export of Russian military hardware.

Shokhin also recalled that the commission on military and technical cooperation which he led planned to give enterprises the right to operate in the foreign market, provided they observe a number of conditions, and to set up major go-between companies.

He voiced hope that when a cabinet is formed by the parliamentary majority, "such decisions will be adopted after consultation with parliament and political parties so that they would be more predictable."

Text of Government Economic Policy Statement

PM2211203193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 1

["Statement of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government on Economic Policy at End of 1993 and in 1994"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Under the chairmanship of Russia's premier, Viktor Chernomyrdin, a session of the Council of Ministers Presidium took place 19 November devoted to the clarification of the indicators of Russia's federal budget for the fourth quarter and for 1993 [as published] as a whole. As a result of the discussion of the question, a final document was adopted which is published below.

Statement of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government on Economic Policy at End of 1993 and in 1994

The government declares its firm intention to strive to achieve the recovery and boosting of the Russian economy. The most urgent measures will be aimed at reducing inflation, stabilizing production, boosting investment, and accelerating structural transformations. The chief task is to bring inflation down to 15 percent in January and to 3-5 percent in December 1994 as an essential condition for stimulating investment and production. For these purposes the government will cooperate actively with the regions, the Central Bank of Russia [CBR], and with the future parliament.

1. Budgetary Policy

a) The federal budget deficit in the fourth quarter of 1993 will not exceed 5.5 trillion rubles, including 0.9 trillion rubles from the issue of state bonds on the financial market.

b) The net credits from the CBR to the budget in the fourth quarter will not exceed 4 trillion rubles.

c) To reduce the deficit, the government intends to revoke a number of earlier decisions adopted regarding expenditure and to take steps, including taxation measures, to raise revenues, which will yield 1.7 trillion rubles in the fourth quarter of 1993.

d) In 1994 all subsidies, including support for agriculture and for the Far North, will be consoldiated in the federal budget.

e) In 1994 the federal budget deficit will come within the limit of 5 percent of the gross domestic product and not more than 30 percent must be covered by the issue of bonds distributed on a voluntary basis.

2. Monetary-Credit Policy

In the sphere of monetary-credit policy the government outlines the following guidelines:

a) The total growth of net credit emissions by the CBR in the form of credits to the government and to banks in the fourth quarter of 1993 will not exceed 6 trillion rubles.

b) The government will not make up, from the budget, the difference in interest rates on credits.

c) The aim of the policy is to achieve positive interest rates at first for CBR credits and subsequently on banks' deposits.

d) The CBR rate will not be any more than 7 percent lower than the rates of the interbank credit market. For banks which are running a debt in their correspondence accounts with the CBR the CBR rate will be doubled.

e) In November 1993 the CBR will begin conducting credit auctions and grant secured advances to banks with bonds as collateral.

f) In the first quarter of 1994 at least 30 percent of the CBR credits will be distributed through auctions as secured advances. In 1994 the CBR will refuse to distribute special-purpose credits via its territorial branches. Any support for regions and sectors of the economy will be given via the budget.

g) The CBR's total credit emission will be limited by quarterly quotas approved by the Commission on Credit Policy and by the relevant targeted directives on the struggle against inflation.

h) Mechanisms will be devised which guarantee the timely repayment of special-purpose credits granted from the CBR's resources.

i) Enterprises will not be allowed to use CBR credits in order to offset overdue debts.

j) The CBR's system of reserve demands is to be reformed taking account of the necessity of stimulating the banks' investment in state bonds.

3. Currency Policy

a) The CBR will not carry out currency interventions for the purpose of supporting the ruble's rate of exchange and will seek to operate on the currency market basically for the purpose of smoothing out fluctuations in the ruble rate of exchange. [sentence as published]

b) Economic policy as a whole will be aimed at the consistent raising of the ruble's purchasing power.

c) By the end of 1993 Russia's net gold and currency reserves will be not lower than 5 billion U.S. dollars.

4. Structural Policy

a) Export quotas for non-energy commodities will be basically abolished by December 1993 and for energy commdities in 1994.

b) Export duties will be reduced on average by 50 percent by the end of 1993 and completely for the majority of goods in 1994.

c) The system of centralized export will be cut back at least three-fold in 1994 in comparison with 1993.

d) All import subsidies will be abolished as of 1 January 1994.

e) The government will avoid raising import duties.

f) By the end of 1993 restrictions on ownership of land and on the sale of land will have been removed.

g) In 1994 restrictions on the profitability of production will be removed, and the registration procedure for entrepreneurial activity in a number of sectors (construction, transport) will be eased.

h) The government will immediately embark on applying the law on bankruptcy.

5. The Ruble Zone

a) The government will seek to set up an Economic Union with all interested countries of the former USSR.

b) The ruble zone will be created after the conditions for the pursuit of a unified and effective monetary-credit, financial, currency, and customs policy have been created.

c) It is necessary to develop commodity and currency markets which will ensure the exchage of the non-cash rubles of other countries for Russian rubles at rates which take shape under the effect of supply and demand.

d) For the transitional period, the countries which have signed the Agreement on the Creation of an Economic Union will use bank notes of the 1961-1992 pattern, overstamped 1993 banknotes, and other means of payment which are in circulation only on their territories, and can introduce their own currencies.

[Signed] V.S. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government

Finance Minister Speaks on 1994 Budget, Local Taxation

PM2311095593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Igor Petrov: "There Will Be More Taxes But Their Sum Could Be Smaller"]

[Text] Of course, this will happen only if the leaders of the components of the Federation want to establish a more liberal tax regime on their territories, and that is now entirely within their power. According to Finances Minister Boris Fedorov, the concept of the budget policy for 1994 which should in the very near future be "covered" by a president's edict gives the regional authorities a free hand, allowing them to "go their own way."

Apart from those taxes which are enshrined in federal legislation, they will be able to introduce any local taxes proceeding from their own understanding of economic expediency.

The changes concern the distribution of income tax but they will more likely be of a purely symbolic nature. Next year, in contrast to this year, a whole... 1 percent of income tax will reach the federal coffers. The rest is as before the "possession" of the territories.

For tax on profit the Finances Ministry suggest that 15 percent be strictly reserved for the federal coffers and up to and including 30 percent for local coffers. Once again everything is farmed out to the local leadership.

Value-added tax remains the main federal regulating tax. Its rate will be the same on all territories. The decision to increase it has not yet been made but, B. Fedorov stressed, of the two evils—taxes or emission—we must choose the lesser. And that is taxes.

Finance Minister, Central Bank Chairman Discuss Inflation

LD2311115293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1132 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Galkin]

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov criticised the Central Bank for "voluntary decisions" which increased inflation, but Central Bank Chairman Viktor Geraschenko fired back by saying that the financial policy of the government can result in social upheavals.

The minister and the bank chief addressed the congress "finances and credit policy of Russia" which opened in the Russian capital on Tuesday.

Fedorov said that weak and unsuccessful attempts to stabilise economy lasted for several years and urged to make 1994 a year of financial stabilisation and investments on the basis of curtailed inflation.

"Had the inflation been curtailed earlier it would be possible to decrease the discount rate, increase credits and bring down taxes already now," he said.

The minister admitted that the attempts to limit centralised credits and keep down the budget deficit growth did not always yield results, but said there is a possibility to keep the budget deficit at ten per cent of the gross domestic product.

Much harm was inflicted on the Russian economy by unjustified money printing and by covering the budget deficit at the expense of the Central Bank, rather than other creditors "trusting the government," according to Fedorov.

The minister stressed the importance to keep the Central Bank independent from the legislative and executive authorities and said its main task is to combat inflation and strengthen the rouble. He criticised the bank's leadership for insufficient use of specific means to implement the financial policy, such as credit auctions.

He also warned that the scale of "dollarisation" of Russia is immense and said that the failure to engage the system of hard currency control cannot but cause bewilderment.

According to the chief banker, the government is also to blame for problems in the financial sphere. He said the problems emerge not only because of monetary reasons, but mostly because of the remaining monopolism, growing prices on energy resources, transportation tariffs and unbalanced budget.

Gerashchenko disclosed that the limits for centralised credits were exceeded by 1.8 trillion roubles or more than 14 per cent in the third quarter of the year. Seven trillion roubles were granted as credits to the national economy in the nine months of the year and half of them were earmakred in the third quarter of 1993. As a result, the centralised credits exceeded the planned amount by three trillion roubles.

Although Gerashchenko does not believe that new state credits can help solve all the financial problems, he stressed that an "artificial underfinancing of enterprises cannot serve as the basis of a thought-out financial policy of the state as it can result in considerable social upheavals."

He believes a way out lies in more thorough work on the budget and added that the proposed specified budget does not envisage enough sources of revenues.

Prosecutor's Office Probes Central Bank's Activities

MK2311104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 2

["V.G."-report: "Prosecutor's Office Curious About Central Bank. Spotlight on Foreign Investments Administration"]

[Text] According to information from competent sources, the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office has launched a probe into some aspects of the Central Bank's activities. The move is explained, experts think, by the internal rules in force in the Central Bank that foster the spread of corruption there. In particular, a ranking Foreign Investments Administration official was summoned to appear at the Prosecutor's Office to give testimony.

According to the same sources, this close attention to the operation of the Central Bank, and in particular to its Foreign Investments Administration, is directly linked with the recent presidential edict forbidding foreign banks to serve their residents on the territory of Russia until 1996. This decision, aimed at protecting Russia's banking system, goes against the course steered by the Central Bank and its head, Viktor Gerashchenko, that favors the opening up of Russian financial borders to foreign bankers.

Regional Affairs

'Opinions Split' at Stavropol Conference

LD2211153193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1442 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol November 22 TASS—"The main advantage of the draft constitution is that it guarantees the preservation of the integrity of the Russian state," Russian Vice-Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray said.

Speaking at a meeting on constitution reform in Stavropol, southern Russia, on Monday, Shakhray said that "many Russians, including myself disagree with the imbalance of power between the two branches in favour of the presidential structures." "The hopes that the draft constitution submitted to the referendum will be failed will not come true," Shakhray said.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the republics of Adygeya, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachai-Cherkesskia, North Ossetia, the Kuban and Don regions, the Stavropol region.

Their opinions split over the draft constitution. Some of them welcomed it as a document providing a basis for building a truly democratic and economically developed Russia, while others expressed concern that the draft may lead to the restoration of authoritarian regime in Russia.

The participants expressed confidence that the draft constitution has been submitted to a nation-wide referendum timely, but said that some provisions need correction.

Shakhray stressed that the draft is far from being perfect, but the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's new parliament to be elected on December 12, will be able to improve it.

Shakhray on Foreigners' Land Purchase Rights

LD2211204293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1920 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Stavropol November 22 TASS—"Foreign citizens should have no right to buy land in Russia but only to take it on lease and for a short period of time," Russian Vice-Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray said, adding that of course, market economy is inconceivable without private land ownership.

Shakhray is taking part in a regional north Caucasian conference which is discussing constitutional reform and preparations for the nationwide referendum on Russia's new constitution. The conference is being attended by delegations from the republics of the northern Caucasus, the Kuban, Don and Stavropol territories and candidates for seats in a fresh Russian legislature.

Several weeks ago Shakhray, a leader of the electoral bloc "Party of Russian Unity and Accord", went on vacation claiming it improper to remain an acting member of government during the election campaign. It was upon the personal request of Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, that Shakhray agreed to break his vacation and participate in the Stavropol meeting in the capacity of a deputy prime minister.

Speaking at the meeting, Shakhray said that a special government body should be created to act as a go-between in all land transactions. According to him, this body should warrant that the fertile lands would not be purchased by incompetent people. The same government body should fight land profiteering.

Shakhray criticised delay in working out regulations on the rebirth of Cossacks' communal land ownership. He said it is time to start practical steps to set up Cossacks' settlements.

Shakhray on PRUC Stance on Constitution

LD2211183293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1453 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC) disagrees with parts of the draft of the new constitution, PRUC leader and Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray told Interfax on Monday in Stavropol, Northern Caucasus.

Shakhray says the latest draft is far more radical than the version offered in July. It looks as if the problems of Russia's national and state structure "were thrust into the future," he said. "Whether or not those principles of a federal structure built into the new constitution are workable will now depend on the effectiveness of the government's ethnic and regional policies," Shakhray said.

The PRUC leader spoke of wanting to seek amendments to some of the provisions in a civilized way, but as it stands, "we support the draft in principle because living

without a constitution is much worse." Shakhray warned about unpredictable consequences just short of civil conflict if the constitution was rejected in the December referendum. "That is why we have to support it now," he said.

Shakhray said that if he becomes speaker of the State Duma, he will try to provide the government with the appropriate legal groundwork for its ethnic and regional policy, without which "it can hardly be effective."

It is now known that the conference of regional leaders of Southern Russia involves representatives of Adygeya, Karachayvo-Cherkessia, Kabaradino-Balkaria, North Ossetia, the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories, and Rostov region.

Comments on PRUC Funding

LD2211165793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1453 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Allegations that the Party of Russian Unity and Concord [PRUC] is strapped for cash or enormously rich are false, party leader Sergei Shakhray said.

In an interview with Interfax in Stavropol on Monday, he said his party was drawing financial support from the Central Election Commission and its own support fund. He said both of them were open to public scrutiny. Shakhray said the PRUC would disclose within the next few days who exactly was financing its election campaign, calling on other parties and blocs to do the same.

He reiterated his previous statement, saying that his party would not forge an alliance with Russia's Choice or any other party or bloc. However, Shakhray does not rule out consulting Russia's Choice, Civic Union, the Democratic Party of Russia, or the Yavlinsky-led alliance in multi-seat election districts so as to throw weight behind the strongest candidates nominated by pro-democracy or centrist movements.

The PRUC leader disagrees with assertions that there are signs that Russia may emerge with a U.S.-style two party system during the election campaign. He described them as a bit of wishful thinking and said that Russia was still far from the goal of having two major parties which oppose rather than try "to kill each other." The PRUC leader praised the president and the prime minister, who had thus far distanced themselves from all parties and blocs, showing no sympathy or hostility to any one in particular.

Shakhray To Help Government if Elected

LD2211193893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 22 Nov 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray, who had to suspend his vacation on the Prime Minister's request, has held a meeting of regional leaders in the administrative center of Stavropol in the country's south. The meeting, designed to clarify the main principles of the draft new constitution ahead of the December referendum, involved leaders of Adygeia, Kabaradino-Balkaria, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, North Ossetia, the Krasnodar and Stavropol territories and Rostov region. Shakhray's visit to the region is part of scheduled consultations between Moscow and the regions, his press office told Interfax.

The Vice-Premier in an exclusive interview with Interfax said he was not at all sure that pro-democracy groups would be able to wield a decisive majority in the new parliament though "sound calculations indicate that this may happen." Nor does he rule out a spate of defections from the democratic camp to "the other side." However, Shakhray spoke of wanting to seek a house rule to help recall deputies running on party tickets so as to cultivate a parliamentary code of behavior and make the legislature more predictable.

Shakhray denied a recent statement from Russian Communist Party Chief Gennadiy Zyuganov alleging that the Shakhray-led Party of Russian Unity and Concord [PRUC] was seeking contacts with his party. "As a possible Speaker of the State Duma, I will have to seek dialogue with all parliamentary factions - left, right and center," he said. Dialogue though not cooperation is possible and inevitable with Zyuganov and his Communist Party which will also be represented in parliament, Shakhray said. However, he denied any contacts, consultations or agreements with the Communists during the election campaign.

On the text of the draft new constitution, Shakhray said there would be no further amendments to the paper endorsed by the President himself. At the same time, he said the PRUC disagreed with parts of the new draft which was far more radical than the July version. Though impeccable in its legal jargon, it has now become more dangerous, he said.

On the country's political structure, he said it looked as if "this was thrust into the future." He is sure that the implementation of the constitutional principles of a federal structure will depend on the effectiveness of national and regional policies. Shakhray also spoke of wanting to seek civilized ways of amending some of the provisions in the new parliament.

The Russian official said the PRUC was in principle supportive of the new draft. However, he warned about dire implications little short of civil war if the constitution was defeated in next month's referendum. "That is why we are having to uphold it," Shakhray said. At the same time, he said there were several provisions in the draft to help correct it as part of efforts at coordination with Russia's republics and regions. There is a mechanism of delineating their powers by concluding separate agreements and a mechanism of adopting constitutional laws, both of which can act as muscle-building on the constitutional framework, Shakhray said.

Nor does the government believe the draft to be ideal though finding it on the whole acceptable, he said, but much effort will be needed to try to fit it to realities of the day.

Shakhray next said that he would try to provide the government with a legal groundwork for ethnic and regional policies if elected as Speaker of the State Duma adding that no policy can be effective without such a basis. He also pledged legislative support to a would be head of the government committee for federal affairs. On the financing of the PRUC's election campaign, Shakhray denied allegations that it was either cash-starved or enormously rich. "It would be incorrect to say we had no resources, but claiming we had plenty would be just as wrong, I regret to say", Shakhray stressed.

In his words, the PRUC uses whatever allocations come from the Central Election Commission or its own support fund.

"Both are open to public scrutiny and we intend to disclose in our sources of funding in the next few days and will call on other parties and blocs to do the same," Shakhray said.

He reiterated the party's refusal to forge an alliance with Russia's Choice [RC] or any other party or bloc for that matter. However, Shakhray does not rule out consultations with representatives of the RC, Civic Union, the Democratic Party of Russia or the Yavlinskiy-led bloc in multi-seat election districts in order to throw weight behind the strongest candidate nominated by pro-democracy or centrist movements.

Asked if there were indications that a U.S.-style two-party system would emerge during the current campaign, Shakhray described this as "a bit of wishful thinking." He said it was a long way off before the country had two major parties opposing rather than trying to "kill each other."

Shakhray praised both the President and Prime Minister for distancing themselves from any party or bloc and not trying to demonstrate sympathy or disapproval of any one in particular.

Chernomyrdin Sends Gaydar to Ulyanovsk

LD2311065993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0621 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Milov]

[Text] Ulyanovsk, 23 Nov—This morning Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar arrived from Samara. At the airport he stated, "I have come here on the instructions of Viktor Chernomyrdin." We remind you that the deputy prime minister was in Ulyanovsk in May this year, and one of the purposes of that trip by him was to discuss issues of state financing for the joint-stock society "Aviastar," a promising aircraft enterprise of the military-industrial complex. It is not out of the question that Gaydar's present visit has the aim of continuing the consultations on this problem. Gaydar headed for the aircraft builders' township straight from the airport.

Gaydar Holds News Conference

LD2311002693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1545 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Boris Belyakov and Gennadiy Yezhov]

[Text] Samara, 22 Nov—Russia's First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar has held a news conference on the outcome of the regional conference in Samara. He said he had come here in an unusual role for a deputy prime minister: To promote a new Russian Federation constitution, take part in preparations for a referendum on the draft, and familiarize himself with the local industrial potential.

Answering journalists' questions, Gaydar noted that the new constitution, even with its current imperfections, is to be a document that stabilizes society. But it would be a mistake for Russia's new parliament—even if democratic, market forces won a decisive victory at the elections—to start with a revision of the constitution. It should be given the opportunity to stay as it is, since the draft proposed by the president is a good background for continuing the reforms process and contains the mechanism for constitutional amendments that will enable the balance of powers to be corrected.

Gaydar on New Constitution

LD2211193993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The new constitution gives the president all the necessary levers for manoeuvring and helps avoid confrontation between the executive and legislative authorities. Therefore, there is no need to broaden the presidential powers any more, Russian First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar told Interfax, commenting on the opinions esxperssed during the regional conference of the Volga Region and Samara representatives.

The speakers called for strengthening presidential authority fearing the new parliament will be similar to the old one.

Yegor Gaydar told a press conference in Samara on Monday that the Federal Assembly would be better than the old parliament. "I believe in the people's common sense and I'm convinced that they will not yield to the populist pledges," he said.

Speaking about the current economic situation, Gaydar said that in 1994 the conditions might be created for economic and financial stabilization, and that in 1995 economic recovery might begin.

Ural Local Bosses, Populace Support Rossel

MK2311103093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Valeriya Ochinyan: "Russian Regions on the Eve of Elections. Ural Republic Governor Becomes People's Hero]

[Text] Eduard Rossel, head of Sverdlovsk Oblast administration, who proclaimed himself governor of the Ural Republic, was removed from office on 10 November by the president's decree. When representatives of the president's staff visited Yekaterinburg on 22 November, it was found that Eduard Rossel had not only become candidate No. 1 for the Federation Council, but that he also inspired local leaders to write a message to the president demanding that the maverick governor be reinstated.

The delegation from Moscow, led by Vyacheslav Volkov, deputy head of the presidential staff, which arrived in Yekaterinburg on 20 November was, according to the official version, to pacify the passions caused by Eduard Rossel's removal from office as head of the Sverdlovsk Oblast administration. Mr. Volkov stated right at the start of the visit that the appearance of the Urals Republic had increased the danger of civil war in Russia and put in doubt a draft new constitution which made no mention whatever of a Urals Republic. In talks with local leaders it was found out that the presidential staff officials were not familiar with the Ural Republic's constitution. For this reason the delegation spent some time reading, first the text of the constitution, then the letter to Boris Yeltsin signed by 60 heads of local administrations who demanded the reinstatement of Eduard Rossel.

Having learned that the maverick governor had collected 75,000 signatures in support of his nomination to the Federation Council, Vyacheslav Volkov congratulated Mr. Rossel during the final press conference on 22 November and stated that his removal from office and the disbandment of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet had been "of a corrective [vospitatelnyy] nature." This apparently confirms KOMMERSANT-DAILY's conclusion: Boris Yeltsin could have indeed used the Urals men's initiative as a trump card in his war on some of the autonomous entities—the Ural Republic, unlike the ethnic republics, was not aspiring for the right to secede from Russia.

Deputy Premier Denies Opposition to Government

LD2311121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk November 23 TASS—"Why have you been included in the list of candidates from the Agrarian Party, which is known to differ on many points with the policy of the current government," Vice-Premier of the Russian Government Aleksandr Zaveryukha was asked during the regional conference on problems linked with the preparations and holding of a nationwide referendum on the draft of the new Russian constitution, which ended in Chelyabinsk today. His answer was that he was not a member of that party, but agreed to be included in its list of candidates, because he deemed himself by dutybound to defend the interest of the rural population. He said this did not mean that he was opposed to the government in which he was now working.

The conference, which was attended by leaders of eight regions of the Urals and the adjoining areas, as well as lawyers, law scholars, local representatives of the Russian president, noted the importance of the adoption of a new conference [as received] at the current difficult period of Russia's life. The speakers noted that the new basic law, in spite of some shortcomings, should stabilise, the social and economic situation, because it establishes a strong executive power. The lawyers and law scholars, attending the conference, adduced convincing arguments in favour of the new constitution and said that the population should vote for it.

Some acute problems were also raised during the conference. Representatives of Bashkiria, Kurgan, Chelyabinsk and Orenburg regions stressed as one of such problems the state's debt to farmers for the delivered goods. This economic problem has assumed a political hue. One of the speakers said that "people will definitely take part in the elections and the referendum if they were paid their wages".

Touching on this problem, Vice-Premier Zaveryukha noted that the government was taking measures to pay the debt to the agro- industrial complex, amounting to 800 billion rubles, by December 12. Three hundred billions from [this] sum has already been provided to the countryside. And this is not only due to the elections, but because these debts do not give the farmers a chance to pay for the fuel, interfere with the operation of machine-building and chemical plants.

Official on Psychological Aspect of Bombings in Chechnya

LD2211164193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1453 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Saypudiy Khasanov, deputy interior minister of the Russian Federation Republic of Chechnya, described Monday's [22 November] bombing of the republic's Interior Ministry as an attempt "to put psychological pressure on the law enforcement bodies."

"There are those in the republic who are not pleased with the fact that the law enforcement bodies are carrying out their tasks of combating crime," he told Interfax on Monday.

Plastic timebombs were fixed to the iron bars on the ground-floor windows of the ministry building early on Monday morning. Nearly simultaneous explosions occured in the buildings of the Prosecutor's Office and State Security Department. The explosions smashed windows on the ground floor of each building, but no one was hurt.

State Security Department chief Sultan Geriskhanov told Interfax the damage caused to the three buildings was minimal.

Federov in Kirov, Views Draft Constitution Benefits

LD2211163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1528 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Ilgov]

[Text] Kirov November 22 TASS—The adoption of the new constitution will open up a path towards political stability in society without which the implementation of economic reform is impossible, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov said.

Speaking at a meeting with heads of regional administrations and candidates to Russia's new parliament in the city of Kirov, northwestern Russia, on Monday, Fedorov said the draft constitution submitted to the referendum clearly delineates the powers of all branches and provides a basis for building a law-governed and democratic state.

The constitution also grants equal rights to all subjects of the federation and envisions levelling off economic conditions for the development of all Russian regions and constituent republics.

He denied reports that the Russia's Choice election bloc has allegedly discussed the possibility of proposing a new candidate for the post of prime minister.

The participants in the meeting, which was attended by representatives of the republics of Mordovia, Chuvashia and Mary l and the Kirov and Nizhny Novgorod regions, discussed ways to invigorate election campaign in their regions.

Fedorov stressed that the participation of voters in the elections and referendum to be held on December 12 will be vital not only for the future of the new parliament, but Russia itself.

Buryat Parliament Urged To Introduce Presidency

LD2211154693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1457 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Ulan-Ude November 22 TASS—Leonid Potapov, parliament speaker of the former autonomous entity of Buryatia, has called on the participants in the regular parliamentary session, which opened here on Monday, to urgently introduce the office of president in the republic.

According to him, the step would be a logical development in view of the current events in Russia and Buryatia.

However, the ensuing debates on the issue made the people's deputies put off a final decision till Tuesday.

The issue has been subject to discussions in Buryatia for three years now. The republic's parliament adopted a law and regulations for the chief executive in 1991, but these documents were not included in the republic's constitution.

According to Buryatian Prime Minister Vladimir Tsaganov, the resumption of the discussion has nothing to do with the forthcoming all-Russia elections and referendum: it is but a protracted process of formation of an orderly system of state power in the republic.

On Monday, the deputies adopted several ammendments to Buryatian laws which eliminate deviations from the norms prescribed by the Russian legislation.

According to a parliamentary expert, the deputies also took the initiative in adopting a law on fire prevention and firemen in the Republic of Buryatia (the first law of such a kind in Russia).

The session will resume its work on Tuesday.

Kamchatka Governor Dissolves Regional Soviet

LD2311110593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1006 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Borovkov]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatski, November 23 (TASS)—Kamchatka Governor Vladimir Biryukov dissolved on Tuesday the local Soviet of People's Deputies and transferred its powers to the regional administration.

The decision was announced to the deputies, who gathered to hold a session, but failed because of a lack of quorum.

Now, the main task of the administration is to work out regulations on the elections to the legislative assembly of Kamchatka region, jointly with the former leaders of the dissolved soviet, which is expected to be held in March next year.

International Affairs

U.S., Russia Response to START Ratification Criticized

LD2311122093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] The press service of Ukraine's Congress of National Democratic Forces [KNDS] has published a statement with regard to the ratification of the START I Treaty by the Supreme Council. It says that the delayed official reaction by the United States and Russia to Ukraine's Supreme Council resolution means that it was opposed to what these states hoped for. Latest developments prove that strong powers tend to act in tune with their own interests and ambitions. The interests of the Ukrainian people are a problem of secondary importance to them, the KNDS statement says.

Status Within Commonwealth To Be Discussed

LD2311114193 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 22 November a UNIAN correspondent learned that this week a Ukrainian delegation is to meet representatives of CIS countries and where relations between Ukraine and other participants of the economic union will be rendered concrete. In the view of one of the members of the Ukrainian delegation who wished to remain anonymous, "more than 200 agreements adopted during the CIS period of existence, have not made it an efficient organization because it lacked appropriate structures that would guarantee implementation of law abiding acts. A real delimitation on the basis of national independence, ownership rights, and a national currency had not taken place in order to later unite on a new basis."

Last week, during two visits to Moscow, the Ukrainian delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Landyk, signed an instruction to work out the status of an associate member (Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for this)—a document on production cooperation within the framework of the CIS.

Ukraine is the only one not to have signed the agreement on investment protection since these relations with Russia are not regulated in Ukraine. Russia rejected the agreement on coordinating policy in the sphere of prices and taxation. It was sent back to be reworked. Ukraine signed an agreement on coordinating anti-monopoly activity and on participating in the fund to help Tajikistan.

The consultations that are planned for this week will be dedicated to regulating the currency and credit policy and to the functioning of the Interstate Bank.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Interviewed on START I Ratification

LD2211204093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1502 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Kiev—Interviewed today by a group of Ukrainian journalists, Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk commented on the Ukrainian Supreme Council's adoption of the resolution on the ratification of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol. [passage omitted]

Answering a question—"After the ratification of the treaty, is Ukraine nuclear or nonnuclear?" Leonid Kravchuk said:

"Formally, nuclear status makes provision for three elements: using, commanding, and controlling nuclear weapons. In this particular case, Ukraine's ownership of nuclear weapons, as a notion, is not really meaningful. We cannot amuse ourselves with being the owners of nuclear weapons. We are not capable of using this property.

[Passage indistinct]. "Once we get started, we shall know what it is and how much it will cost, then we shall be able to tell the people what assistance we need," Leonid Kravchuk opined.

Answering a UNIAN correspondent's question on what guarantees from the United States, Russia, and Western countries would suit Ukraine, the president said that it could be a document, a statement by the president or government of a state, which would emphasize that, in giving up nuclear weapons, Ukraine is given guarantees of its territorial integrity and its status is confirmed. These might be guarantees which would spell out that Ukraine should not be regarded as a partner "capable of unforeseen actions," as well as real guarantees of military, technological, and economic assistance. "It should not just be a wish but actual steps," Leonid Kravchuk pointed out.

Answering a UNIAN correspondent's question on what is the greater obstacle in the way of substantial economic assistance from the West to Ukraine—difficulties in ratifying the START I treaty and the Lisbon Protocol, or the Ukrainian leadership's own economic policy—Leonid Kravchuk said that he is convinced it is both issues. "The economic situation being unclear, the economic policy leaping backward and forward, and the leadership making ill-considered populist statements did and do cause concern throughout the world," he said. The president said that the course toward the market has already been determined in the budget for 1994 and the government's program to combat inflation. "We have made provision for 4,000 enterprises to be made joint stock companies as early as the beginning of next year."

As for compensation for the tactical nuclear weapons, Leonid Kravchuk recalled that, in accordance with the Supreme Council resolution, negotiations are to be held

and calculations made with the participation of specialists. On the subject of strategic nuclear weapons, Leonid Kravchuk referred to an agreement between Ukraine and Russia, under which the year-plus-one formula was suggested. "How much it will cost is yet unknown, since there are no estimates. It has not been decided yet what we shall do: Shall we remove warheads, or eliminate delivery vehicles and silos, or do it all together? It is only when all the estimates are made that we can tell how much it will cost Ukraine," Leonid Kravchuk said. In his words, the United States has already come up with an initiative to help this process. Ukraine proposed that a nuclear fund should be set up to help step up assistance. [passage omitted: agency recalling Kravchuk's insistence on removing from the parliamentary resolution on ratification the clause on the numbers of strategic offensive arms to be reduced, and the reasoning behind it, covered by referent item]

At the end of the meeting, Leonid Kravchuk called for an understanding attitude toward the situation facing Ukraine. "We bear responsibility before our people and the world," he said.

Further Comments

LD2211185693 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1634 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Nov—It has taken us a long time to get to the ratification of the of Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. This is because of the complex economic and political situation, and the nonuniform attitude of other countries toward Ukraine as a newly independent state. However, Ukraine must become nonnuclear. There is and must be no alternative. This was stated today by President Leonid Kravchuk, in an interview with journalists. He expressed confidence that the world community will adopt a sound attitude toward Ukraine's existing problems and approach with understanding its aspiration to rid itself of nuclear weapons.

In Leonid Kravchuk's opinion, the ratification of the treaty should be regarded as a step forward and the emphasis should not be placed on the reservations [made by Ukrainian parliament in respect of ratification]. The conditions set forth in the reservations should be fulfilled. Ukraine does need economic assistance. At the same time, the president was critical about the political reservations. In his words, any reservations could only deal with economic, military, and technological issues. However, he failed to persuade parliament to accept that point of view.

We have got to get down to implementing the parliamentary resolution on ratification adopted, the president went on to say. Once the work starts, then the world will see that it is not just that Ukraine declared itself a nuclear-free country, but that it firmly adheres to the course taken.

Now in the process of freeing itself from nuclear weapons, Ukraine is in need of such economic and territorial guarantees as to enable it to ensure nation-building and develop its economy.

Ukraine at present is seeking to establish market relations. As early as at the beginning of next year, it is envisaged that 4,000 enterprises will be made joint-stock companies. The next step is introducing the national currency. But first hyperinflation should be tackled, which is why Ukraine requires financial support and investments.

That nuclear disarmament issues are used to someone's populist ends must not happen now, Leonid Kravchuk pointed out.

Kravchuk Appoints New Deputy Defense Ministers

For Rear Services

AU2211182893 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 18 Nov 93 p 2

["Ukrainian Presidential Edict on Appointing G. Mykhalchenko as Ukraine's Deputy Minister of Defense for Rear Services—Chief of Rear Services in Ukraine's Armed Forces"; issued in Kiev on 15 November]

[Text] To appoint Lieutenant General MYKHALCHENKO, Hryhoriy Mykolayovych, as Ukraine's deputy minister of defense for rear services—chief of rear services in Ukraine's Armed Forces.

For Armaments

AU2211195493 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian Nov 18 93 p 2

["Ukrainian Presidential Edict on Appointing I. Oliynyk as Deputy Minister of Defense for Armaments—Chief of Armament in Ukraine's Armed Forces"; issued in Kiev on 15 November]

[Text] To appoint Lieutenant General OLIYNYK, Ivan Ivanovych, as Ukraine's deputy minister for armament—chief of armament in Ukraine's Armed Forces.

[Signed] Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk
[Dated] 15 November 1993

Deputy Prime Minister Discusses Economy

WS2311093093 Kiev KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 12 Nov 93 p 4

[Interview with First Deputy Prime Minister Yukhym Zvyahilskyy by Aleksandr Maslyak; place and date not given]

[Text] [Maslyak] In various newspapers and publications, as well as at Supreme Council sessions, your name has been connected, either directly or indirectly, with the

summer strike in Donbas. Certain people claim that you organized the miners' protest and that you rode into the Cabinet of Ministers on the tide of strikes. How do you assess these rumors?

[Zvyahilskyy] Those who are making these statements underestimate the power of the working people's movement, first of all, the miners' strength. One can provoke a strike using populist methods in one factory. To make hundreds of working groups, not only miners, go on strike, and to make other circles of society join them, there must be serious objective reasons. The unprepared price hikes were only a detonator of the ripened turmoil. Not only the economic but also the political demands of the strikers testify to this. Their unanimous initial demand was to begin negotiations on remaining issues.

Regarding the proposal to join the Cabinet of Ministers, it had been put forward long before the strike. Did it prompt the president's decision to appoint me first deputy prime minister? Only Leonid Makarovych [President Kravchuk] can answer that question.

To finally wrap up this issue, I must admit that in 1989 I upheld the justified and vital demands of the striking workers, and I marched in the first ranks with the A.F. Zasyadko Mine workers.

In June 1993, under completely different circumstances, I categorically opposed such a way of solving problems, understanding that every day of the strikes was causing a great deal of damage to the young Ukrainian economy; besides, what could the strikes achieve? Because of this, I asked the legislature to approve the miners' demand to hold a referendum.

During the most strenuous days, heading a government committee at the Ukrainian president's request, I took part in the negotiations with representatives of the strikers and in numerous meetings. I was in the center of events and talked with hundreds of people. I saw, and I know who was trying to use the strikes for his own political purposes. In this regard, these vain speculations by certain deputies and journalists, who attempt to interpret these past events in their own way, seem ridiculous.

[Maslyak] Yukhym Leonidovych, how do you assess the current economic situation in the state?

[Zvyahilskyy] The economy will recover. A great deal of time has been spent on finding positive resolutions. The situation is extraordinary. Measures for alleviating the predicament should be extraordinary too. I believe that all efforts should be aimed at preventing industrial collapse and impoverishment of the people.

I will outline my assessments on this issue. The most important task today is to stop the frantic price hikes. Vigorous breaking of the price hikes should become, for a defined period of time, a dedicated condition, or if you want, national policy.

Take into consideration the fact that most goods are produced at state-owned enterprises. It is state enterprises (I do not mention the nonstate sector) where the price frenzy begins, and any opportunity is used to raise prices. The fundamental rules are violated; production costs are artificially overestimated; profits are increasing. Trading, transportation, brokerage, and other structures, as well as retail commerce add their share, as well.

What kind of economic common sense do the following facts have? The Kremenchuk Oil-Processing Plant has sold the Poltava Oblast agriculture supplies state company, at overestimated prices, gasoline (137,200 karbovanetses [K] per tonne) and diesel fuel (K152,800 per tonne), illegally earning K8.3026 billion. The Ivano-Frankivsk Oil Products company has earned K1.508 billion in the same way. As you see, the numbers reach the billions. All this has affected the price of crops, and finally, it was consumers who have paid for it. These are not separate cases. This is a widespread phenomenon. For example, the Yalta Krymmyasoobyedineniye meat factory, in only 10 days of September, sold 5.5 tonnes of meat at K8,975 per kg instead of declared K7,107 per kg, and earned K10 million.

Is there a supermarket state, where one could increase mazout production profitability by 5,363 percent, such as what happened at the Lysychansk Oil-Processing Plant? Why do consumers pay two or three times the factory price for oil products? By what right do owners of stores and kiosks, having read the results of the hard currency exchange, increase prices for certain products, despite the fact that their costs have not changed? One should not wonder why prices are growing, the budget is suffering, and incentives to increase production are disappearing.

What should be done? In my opinion, all measures that are at the government's disposal are allowed. Each price increase should be declared, and should be allowed only if prices for energy sources are going up. It is necessary to forbid the sale of any goods produced by the state sector at prices higher than allowed in state-owned stores. Total added value of brokerage should be limited. Economically unjustified price increases should be fought with all possible means by the government and local administrations, including criminal liability. As a mater of fact, this is robbery.

I am convinced that price controls should become obligatory. Everybody should be aware that price increases at his enterprise, no matter how convenient it may seem, will return to him as inflation and a lower real wage. However, one should not wring his hands in despair. Germany has proceeded on this path over the last few years.

Another important way of escaping the crisis is strengthening the karbovanets exchange rate.

Circulation of foreign currencies in our country, including the Russian ruble, should be prohibited. It is necessary to impose one fixed exchange rate (instead of

the currently existing ones). Interest rates and bank profits should be limited, too. Currently, credit interest rates compose 70 percent of the added value trade.

The clearing transactions with Russia cost Ukraine billions in losses. The state should be obliged to purchase oil, gas, and raw materials only for the municipal sector, power engineering, defense, and other state priorities. Consumers should fulfill their demands themselves. We should abandon the clearing transactions with Russia in 1994.

The state also loses due to the fact that exporters leave hard currency on foreign banks' accounts, hard currency revenues are concealed, and the existing payment system is executed inadequately. Strict control and regulation over all foreign trade operations, prices, and hard currency revenues are essential.

These are only certain measures for overcoming the crisis, which will be submitted to the Supreme Council as a program of government activities. The strategy is as follows: We should amortize the latest price blow, which has been delivered by the increase of prices for Russian energy sources, and prevent another price increase by using our considerable domestic reserves.

[Maslyak] Are there any accusations that certain government methods are far from market ones?

[Zvyahilskyy] Of course, there will be such accusations. But, why is the market identified with arbitrariness and chaos? These are completely different things. Can you name one country where one easily pays in foreign currency, where dollars and marks buy and sell everything. In what country does currency exchange dictate such ridiculous rates? The fact that widespread exporting of our food and products has become very lucrative testifies to the fact that the karbovanets is undervalued. Where is that place where banks are literally getting fat doing nothing to encourage national economy and paying their workers millions in all kinds of salaries and bonuses that are hundreds of times higher than the president's income? Is this a normal situation?

The issue of currency exchange is principal. Only an insignificant part of the hard currency in circulation goes through the currency exchange. Not even all the obligatory exporters' hard currency revenues are sold on the currency exchange. Under such circumstances, the high demand for hard currency, generated basically by commercial structures, determines the legal karbovanets exchange rate, which does not reflect the economic situation. It sounds ridiculous, that Ukraine's entire gross domestic product, counted in dollars, is comparable to the turnover of a large foreign company. The distorted hard currency rate is yet another reason for the price hikes and the increase of our foreign debt. As academician I. Yukhnovskyy pointed out, currency exchange is in vogue; it is not an economic expediency. Unfortunately, this is a very dangerous and expensive fashion. Given the current volume and system of hard currency exchange, it triggers inflation and should be temporarily suspended.

There is one more issue connected with the hard currency market. There are no controls over ways of spending hard currency bought at the currency exchange and in the National Bank. Who can guarantee that it is not sent abroad along with the remaining 50 percent of exporters' revenues? Cases have been reported, when enterprises would purchase expensive equipment, not out of some essential need, and at the same time they do not have money to pay their suppliers. Because of that, we need control over the expediency of hard currency expenditures. I do not see anything scary about it, as well as about control over all foreign trade activities.

Control over prices, incomes, and money circulation was imposed by many countries experiencing a crisis. These are merely provisional measures. Only fools put market dogmas behind practical urgencies. Provided that production is normalized, the amount of goods increases, as well as prices and incomes are stabilized, these measures will be rejected as useless.

[Maslyak] How can production be stabilized, in your opinion?

[Zvyahilskyy] This is the main task. Hyperinflation will not be curbed without reviving production. Price hikes must be stopped, because they elicit the continued lack of resources and lead to a disruption of payments. It is necessary to revive cooperative industrial ties, in particular—with Russia. In politics, one cannot be stubborn, one must think about interests of the people. Energy supplies must be stabilized throughout the economy. The foundations have already been established. However, the problem of how to pay for foreign energy sources remains. The crucial thing today is export. Credits are also prerequisite. However, credits can generate inflation. Nevertheless, if enterprises stand idle and masses end up without jobs, inflation will not cease; the situation will exacerbate. We cannot allow for the complete destruction of production. Ukraine would be lost. In this issue, we should balance on the edge.

To improve agricultural production, it is necessary, from one perspective, to provide a regular inflow of cash for production, including credits, but under strict control of how the money is spent. From another perspective, it is critical to introduce new incentives—technical equipment, hardware, construction materials, and securities for purchasing agriculture production. There have been proposals to issue new bonds secured by assets and export revenues.

[Maslyak] What about "accelerating reform?"

[Zvyahilskyy] Reforms should be conducted not only for the sake of reform. Where and why should we accelerate things? We have quickly liberalized prices, and what are the results? We have about 50 commodity exchanges. This is more than in the entire industrial world. We have 170 commercial banks and a currency exchange. Cities and villages swarm with various brokerage services, we have commercialized almost the entire trade system, and have begun to sell state property. What have the

economy and the people received in return? Uncontrollable price increases, declining production, and the threat of famine. Reforms should be conducted day by day, step by step, to improve the economic situation of the entire country. The same situation existed in Germany and Japan. Such reform is currently being conducted in Vietnam and China. We need consistency, not acceleration for the sake of acceleration.

I would like to add something. The opinion that Ukrainian reforms are failing is not true. It is deliberately disseminated for political purposes. I have already said that about various existing market foundations. There are lots of them. Currently, Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Landyk has assumed control over the privatization process. The mechanisms and documents on small-scale privatization, privatization of leased enterprises, investment funds, and holdings are currently being completed; many procedures connected with ownership transformations are being simplified. This job will soon be finished. One should not generate false panic. It is not true that the difficulties are due to a failure of reform. On the contrary, in many fields we have gone too fast and drifted in the wrong direction.

[Maslyak] The introduction of the fixed hard currency exchange rate triggered a lot of criticism. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Zvyahilskyy] No document signed by the Cabinet of Ministers mentions a fixed hard currency exchange rate. The point was a regulated, not permanently fixed hard currency exchange rate, which should have been introduced as part of an entire system, not alone. The double exchange rate has generated negative consequences. Enterprises have to sell hard currency at the fixed exchange rate, but they buy it at the overvalued rate at the currency exchange. That was not supposed to happen. I am for a system of measures along with a regulated hard currency rate. Such a system would be beneficial.

[Maslyak] Following the well-known statements, commercial banks panicked. In the end, what policy is the government going to endorse?

[Zvyahilskyy] Until concrete resolutions are finally decided and adopted, I can present only my personal opinion. Currently, commercial banks are generating inflation, introducing insane interest rates that are eventually reflected in prices. They receive fabulous profits, feeding off of inflation. They are accidentally (or deliberately, I do not know) put out of any control, however, their initial capital was based on state property. The state and the National Bank have lost the ability to control the flow of credit resources.

Nobody is going to liquidate these banks. Nonetheless, it is necessary to introduce a sort of order, to limit discount rates and revenues, to set boundaries between state and non-state resources, to stimulate production investment, etcetera. Each element of the economic system should play its role, not disturbing the entire system. We should think about it.

It is obvious that these measures are against the interests of certain financial groups. It is not an accident that the press has begun to attack the government at this early stage of discussing these measures, apparently defending the reform. However, one should prefer national and people's interests to personal ones. We should alleviate the predicament jointly.

Economic Commission Criticizes Cabinet Measures

LD2211182293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1502 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 22 November, the Supreme Council commission on economic reform and management of the national economy discussed "Urgent measures on overcoming inflation" proposed by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and the plan and the budget for 1994. Speaking on behalf of the document's authors, Deputy Economy Minister Volodymyr Naumenko said that the measures envisage renouncing total management of the economy. However, the commission's members categorically did not agree with such an assessment of the document and the approach chosen by the authors.

Former Vice Premier Viktor Pynzenyk called the document "a flawed concept in principle." He stressed the complete incongruity of the measures with the state's monetary and credit policy. In the view of Ivan Zayets, a member of the commission, at issue is the creation of a system which would service the Russian economy and subsidize the Russian ruble. This is illustrated by the losses inflicted on Ukraine this year by the system of cleared deliveries, totalling $1.5 billion. Commission member Oleksandr Barabash sees a particular danger in reducing the consumer fund for 1994, considering it as a redistribution of national wealth which does not benefit the broad strata of the population. The commission insisted on a redrafting of the documents, taking into account the commission's proposals.

Commenting on the meeting to a UNIAN correspondent, commission member Vitaliy Melnychuk said: "The selected approaches and proposals by the documents' authors on introducing a state of economic emergency testify to the fact that we have entered the agony phase." In the view of Vitaliy Melnychuk, the present Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine can envisage a state of economic emergency only administratively, when the only possible way out is through liberalizing the economy.

Commission Opposes Economic State of Emergency

LD2311095093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2030 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—On 22 November the Supreme Council Commission on Economic Reform and Management of

the National Economy, having discussed the idea of introducing a state of emergency in the economy, which had been proposed at the parliament's plenary sittings, expressed itself against such a step. In the view of the commission's members, a legislative concept on "a state of emergency in the economy" does not exist and a mechanism for implementing it has not been elaborated. Members of the commission consider there is a likelihood that the state of emergency in the economy could be introduced by certain people who are not interested in reform and could be used to intensify administrative and command management over the economy.

Commenting on this decision to a UNIAN correspondent, Mykhaylo Shvayka, deputy chairman of the commission said that the introduction of a state of emergency in the economy in circumstances that are completely uncertain, when there is no actual government and when the president is capable of adopting unjustified decisions from an economic point of view, would not simply be inexpedient but would also be a tragic mistake.

In Shvayka's view, despite all its shortcomings, the Supreme Council today remains the only body that could mount an opposition to the president and there are no guarantees that its activities in relation to the mentioned state of emergency will not be stopped. The deputy chairman of the commission considers that the antiparliamentary campaign in the press, which has been unfolding in the last few days according to a certain script, gives serious grounds for considering that such fears are not unfounded.

Crimean Communists Favor Revival of USSR

LD2211142393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Communists are ready to fight for power: so says a declaration adopted at the first report-back and election conference to be held by the communists of the Republic of Crimea since the renewal of activity by the Communist Party of Crimea. The communists see a way out of the economic crisis in the rebirth of the Soviet Union.

The conference nominated Communist Party of Crimea leader Leonid Grach as a candidate for the post of president of the republic. A list of candidates for Supreme Soviet deputies from the Communist Party was drawn up.

Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia took part in the gathering of Crimean communists. He declared that the Communist Party of Crimea should make every effort toward Crimea's becoming part of Russia.

Belarus

Parliament Rejects Draft Resolutions on Reports

LD2211192393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 22 Nov 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Parliament has rejected draft resolutions on reports presented by its chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich and National Bank Chairman Stanislav Bogdankevich.

The Supreme Soviet disagreed with the draft worded by an ad hoc commission chaired by deputy speaker Vyacheslav Kuznetsov and calling for numerous steps designed to accelerate the economic reform. In particular, it suggested cutting the budget and reducing and gradually lifting subsidies to producers.

The rejected draft also called on Shushkevich, Kebich and Bogdankevich to have talks within a month with their Russian counterparts on implementation of the agreements, ratified by Belarus on November 18, on the merger of monetary systems of the two countries and on Russian financial aid to victims of the Chernobyl disaster.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Stanislav Bogdankevich still hopes that shortly, "when the economies of the two countries are stronger than now, a transnational currency such as the ECU can be introduced." He told Interfax that "for the transitional period the use of the Russian ruble in Belarus as the sole legal tender will have a positive impact on the republic's economy. I have always advocated having a common currency with Russia."

Parliament also rejected a draft expressing dissatisfaction with the performance of the Supreme Soviet chairman and the head of the government and another draft calling for resignation of Shushkevich and Kebich.

Deputy Prime Minister on Industrial Policy

WS2311110093 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 9 Nov 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Mikolay Kostsikaw by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] [Reporter] You are deputy prime minister for industries, material resources, and foreign economic activities. Could you brief us on the government's current industrial policy? What difficulties and problems is the government experiencing; what does the future have in store for us?

[Kostsikaw] Frankly speaking, this is a tough question because industries represent 60 percent of gross national product and almost 47 percent of national income. Reporters very often make it a loaded question. I would like our talk today to be held in an atmosphere of understanding the current problems.

[Reporter] That is a deal. Let us move on to concrete questions. What is the current state of the Republic's industrial development?

[Kostsikaw] I would say that our industries are gradually overcoming the crisis, although this process is developing with great difficulty. This was caused by a number of problems, primarily by the destruction of economic ties and by price pressures on producers. The government managed to maintain control over this relevant sector of the national economy under this extraordinary situation. Our industries worked a little bit better in October than in previous months.

There has been an increase of 1.2 percent in overall production volume, while there was a decline of 18.4 percent at the beginning of 1993. Enterprises of machine building, chemical, wood processing, and food industries recorded better results than others.

All this helped avoid a collapse in production. The decline was 12.9 percent in January 1993 in Belarus, as compared to 16.5 percent in Russia, 27 percent in Kyrgyzstan, and 42.6 percent in Latvia. I am not trying to neglect the real state of things in industries. However, I want to avoid the situation when people concentrate on failures and seem not to notice positive changes in the economy.

Such changes are taking place. Regardless of all the complications, there are a lot of enterprises weathering the hardships and improving their financial situation. The management of these enterprises are looking ahead and beginning to produce modern equipment. Thus, the production amalgamation the Minsk Tractor Plant has mastered the production of small MTZ-082 tractors.

[Reporter] It is known that the policy of radical economic reform is formed at turning points of history. What stage is the Belarusian economy undergoing now?

[Kostsikaw] It is no secret that our industries were developing within the framework of a single economic complex. Our relations with the center were built on the economic basis. Time will tell whether this was good or bad. However, let us not forget that after the war, when the country was devastated, such dynamic branches as motor vehicle and tractor building were developed in the Republic.

In 1960's and 1970's, a foundation was built for the Belarusian chemical complex. Later, metallurgic, radio electronic, and mining industries were developed. Thus, in terms of stages, our industries are undergoing a crucial process of transition to a qualitatively new stage under the conditions of forming a market environment.

Some 10 years ago, hardly anybody could predict that Belarusian industries would be privatized.

You might want to know whether the government ever predicted the current complicated situation. I want to point out that the government also took some preventive measures.

In 1990, the Council of Ministers decided to draft principal directions of developing the Republic's machine building and chemical industries in 1991-1995. In fact, this document gave an impetus to reshaping our industries. At that time, foundations were created for structural reform and orientation toward developing high-tech branches. All this gave us a chance to concentrate our industrial potential on such vital branches as the production of equipment for processing industries of the agro-industrial complex, light industries, trade, the food service industry, and health protection. As a result of this, a program of structural industrial reshaping in the 1990's was drafted.

[Reporter] How is it being implemented?

[Kostsikaw] I must say that drafting a program is only half a success. The implementation of a program is equally important. Here, different unpredictable obstacles arose. Take the issue of mutual payments, for instance. Today, the issue of a monetary deficit, especially that of a deficit in rubles, is very urgent. In general, there have been no major deviations from the government's industrial policy. Different minor points are corrected on the spot.

[Reporter] What major directions of the government's industrial policy can you name?

[Kostsikaw] I want to name the following key directions.

First: The improvement of the branch structure of industries which would reduce the use of material and power resources. This is an issue of primary importance given limited Belarusian supplies of raw materials and power resources, and under the conditions of gradual transition to world prices in foreign trade. We see priority tasks as increasing the role of branches that produce the end product as well as high-tech branches and industries. These are, in my opinion, electronics and instrument building, the production of computers, communication equipment, polymers, and others.

A logical question arises—what should be done with such traditional branches as motor vehicle, agricultural machinery, or machine-tool building? The Republic needs these branches today and it will need them in the future, because the latter possess a huge export potential. Trucks, tractors, and machine tools are our main export products. They are very popular throughout the CIS, including Russia.

The second direction envisions enhancing efficiency and the competitiveness of our products. This is a very acute problem, because according to expert assessments, only 3 percent of our industrial products meet world standards.

Our industry is currently facing a dilemma—it can either continue dynamic development and form a basis for competitive products, or be thrown ten years into the past. We have chosen the first variant and the government makes all the necessary preparations at the macroeconomic level. Out of a total of 500 projects, the government has chosen 32 it considers the most valuable.

The government is taking all the necessary steps to support enterprises that produce modern articles. Since assuming control over former centrally managed enterprises, the government earmarked about 1 billion rubles [R] worth of subsidies, including R500 million for military enterprises undergoing conversion. Almost R2.5 billion were allocated in favorable loans for financing conversion in 1993. An important decision has been made and soon will be carried out. Debts caused by long-term credits will be written off and financial losses caused by conversion exceeding R3 billion, reimbursed.

We are also taking steps to improve the system of taxation; some of these will be discussed at the next Supreme Soviet session.

The third direction is conversion of defense branches. The government's policy with regard to this issue is unequivocal—we must not destroy the existing scientific and production potential and lose skilled personnel. We must find proper application for these people.

Thus, the scientific-producing amalgamation, the Integral, has launched production of advanced microchips for fifth- and sixth- generation television sets, computers, and advanced household appliances. The Minsk production amalgamation of computers has mastered the production of new personal computers.

Several plants currently undergoing conversion are rapidly setting up the production of refrigerators for industrial use, as well as equipment for milk and meat processing plants.

[Reporter] One often hears criticism regarding further development of the Belarusian chemical complex. I would like to know your opinion on this issue.

[Kostsikaw] I am sure that we cannot achieve tangible results in enhancing the efficiency of chemical industries without radical changes in this branch. Today, the latter are very closely connected with other branches. Their coordinated operation may influence agriculture, construction, communications, machine building, and so on. This is why the government is constantly taking care of the issues of a balanced development of the chemical complex. New raw materials are being examined, a search is under way for new kinds of alternate products on the basis of a more efficient utilization of industrial waste.

This leads to huge expenditures. However, world experience proves that investing in the development of progressive branches of the chemical complex often yields dividends. The Belshyna combine is now producing 38 types of tires and preparing to produce 10 more. A new generation of steel-belted radials will soon be marketed. The production amalgamation Belaruskaliy is undergoing reconstruction for producing new dustless fertilizers and cooking salt. One of the resolutions adopted by

the Council of Ministers envisions the reconstruction of the amalgamation Palimir producing ethylene, polyethylene, and other valuable materials.

Oil and Its Refinement

[Kostsikaw] We are sometimes criticized for lingering with reconstructing Novopolotsk and Mozyr refineries. In my opinion, these claims are biased. The refineries used to work for the needs of the former USSR and Belarus received necessary amounts of oil in exchange, at reduced prices.

Over the past two years, the problem of oil shortages was not very acute. The issues of shipments and prices were resolved at the governmental level. This gave the Republic a chance to receive economic advantages and examine the issue of intensive oil processing. This is not an ordinary issue, because the Republic lacks equipment and technology. Foreign companies reluctantly invest abroad without reliable guarantees that their investments will be safe.

In June 1992, the production amalgamation Naftan signed a contract with the Italian consortium Delphina-Focchi to build a complex for intensive oil processing. The construction will be financed by the Italian side that received a loan of $552 million. The building of the complex will permit the productivity of refinement to increase two-fold and thus receive the same amount of end product from half the volume of crude oil.

The production of Belarusian oil is another important problem. It currently amounts to 2 million tonnes per year, which represents 8-10 percent of the oil used in the Republic. The government is going to increase the production of Belarusian oil on the basis of precise economic calculations. Otherwise, each tonne of oil may become a heavy burden for the national economy.

Foreign Economic Activity

[Kostsikaw] In the future, we want exports to play the decisive role in the economy. However, everything has to be done reasonably. Exports should be regarded as the most important catalyzer and economic stimulator.

What has been done? This year, we introduced a more liberal system of convertible currency regulation; tax fees for exporting and importing products were reduced. A single exchange rate for the ruble with other currencies was fixed for all foreign economic operations.

Many bureaucratic obstacles were removed from the procedure of issuing licenses. State-run and private enterprises were given a free hand in the issue of shipping oil and oil products.

The government has taken a number of steps toward forming an economic union, including the annulment of quotas and licenses for exports to the Russian Federation, with the exception of consumer goods that are shipped in accordance with intergovernment agreements.

We are continuing our efforts to grant favorable legal conditions for national exporters. These are regulated by 19 international trade and economic agreements with other states, 12 other are being drafted. We are also drafting a program for promoting foreign investments in Belarus in 1994-95.

Denationalization and privatization are the keys for resolving many issues of our industrial policy. This is a new matter for us and it needs an appropriate legal basis and an in-depth analysis of economic mechanisms.

Starting conditions for denationalization and privatization are not the same in all industries. For example, these processes are much more dynamic in wood processing and paper industries than in heavy industries. This is clear, because the former work with their own raw materials.

We must take into account the other aspect of denationalization. I mean that efficient mechanisms of economic responsibility of staffs have not yet been formed. Thus, the government sees the resolution of many privatization-related issues as rapid structural reshaping of enterprises. This process has already started.

I am optimistic about our future. Regardless of the complicated situation in and around the Republic, I am sure that Belarus will become an industrially developed state and resolve the issues of statehood and political and economic sovereignty for the people's advantage.

Georgian Membership of CIS Depends on Minsk

LD2211144093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] As you no doubt know, Georgia has long been expressing a wish to join the CIS. However, the republic is still unable to become a member. Georgia's admission to the CIS is being held up because of the uncertain position of the Republic of Belarus. At 1500 Moscow time today, a meeting of the presidium of the Belarus Supreme Soviet will begin in Minsk. It will examine the question of Georgia's admission to the CIS. Yuriy Svirko reports from Minsk:

[Svirko] As you know, new members are only admitted to the CIS on the basis of consensus; 11 states currently belong to the CIS and 10 presidential signatures in support of Georgia have already been collected. The 11th signature, on behalf of Belarus, is still needed. But Stanislav Shushkevich, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, has refused to sign it, saying that he is not a president and that the matter must be resolved by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Shushkevich himself promises to vote in favor, although he is not certain that Georgia's admission to the CIS will promote the establishment of peace in the Transcaucasus. Other members of the presidium have not yet expressed their views, but some of them are already citing the CIS statutes, which bar the admission of warring countries to the CIS.

It is difficult to predict what the presidium's decision will be. Whatever happens, it is Stanislav Shushkevich himself who will have to sign. He has said that if he does not agree with the decision of the Supreme Soviet presidium he will raise the matter at the current parliamentary session. Therefore, it may be Belarus people's deputies themselves who accept Georgia into the CIS. Incidentally, one of them, Ivan Korotchenya, who is the CIS's executive secretary and, therefore, the top man on the Commonwealth's coordinating bodies, hopes that things won't come to a vote at the session. Deputy Korotchenya, who himself used to be a member of the presidium of the Belarus parliament, believes that his former colleagues may well reach a decision which suits everybody. All the same, the presidium could still defer its discussion of the Georgian question.

Moldova

Medvedev Quotes Yeltsin on Settling Problems

LD2111184493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian president intends to resolve the fundamental issue of restoring Moldova's territorial integrity as soon as possible, Nikolay Medvedev, a special envoy of the Russian president, told Interfax. He spent the past two days in Moldova. According to Medvedev, Boris Yeltsin continues to maintain his stance on the issue—the territorial integrity of the Moldovan republic as a subject of international law. Russia, as a mediator, is prepared to offer a number of possible solutions. Documents which are to be prepared within the next few days will be linked to the division of powers between the central Moldovan authorities and the state bodies of the Dniester region. The second document will be devoted to the legal status of the Dniester region. The envoy also stressed that within the next 4-6 weeks, the positions of Chisinau and Moldova should converge.

National Bank Head on Introduction of New Currency

AU2211165993 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 19 Nov 93 p 8

[Interview with National Bank Governor Leonid Talmaci, by Constantin Lupu; place and date not given—first two paragraphs are ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] Some time ago Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli stated that the national currency of the Republic of Moldova would be introduced before 29 November this year. But even without that official announcement, the pulse of the street has recently been confirming that quite soon something will be happening with the money. The shop shelves have been emptied by the masses of buyers who are ready to buy anything as they do not wish to be left with any coupons when the day comes. Apart from that, over the past few days the exchange rate of the Moldovan coupon against the U.S. dollar has fallen spectacularly.

In order to find out what is happening, we contacted Leonid Talmaci, the governor of Moldova's National Bank. Without disclosing the precise day of the introduction of Moldova's national currency, Talmaci confirmed that the leu will appear on the market no sooner than 22 November, but before 29 November this year.

[Lupu] Why did you choose this time? Why not sooner or later?

[Talmaci] We could not have done it any sooner as the money itself was not available. The process of printing and minting the money has taken more than nine months. In addition to this, we considered that autumn would be a suitable time, as Moldova is a country based on agriculture, and this is the season when crops are harvested. That is, the money that is issued will have the proper security. Furthermore, we have now reached the moment of concluding memoranda with the IMF and the World Bank, thus obtaining their support for the leu. At the same time, under the supervision of those international bodies, we have worked out a macro-economic restructuring program. The key element of that policy is the leu.

[Lupu] Have you received any loans from those bodies?

[Talmaci] We obtained the maximum possible loans from the IMF and the World Bank. By mid-September they had transferred $32 million to our account, the money being intended exclusively for the support and stabilization of our national currency. On Monday, 15 September, we signed a standby loan accord with the IMF, and as a result of that we will receive a new loan worth $100 million, which is to be granted in two installments over the next period before 1 January 1995. The rest of the money, that is, about $250 million, is to be granted to us by the European Community.

At this important moment I would like to remind your readers that in the preparatory work to introduce our national currency, as well as in the printing and minting of the new money, we have been substantially supported by Romania's National Bank.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Advocates Strong Presidential Authority

LD2211192793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1733 GMT 22 Nov 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev has described the decisions passed by the country's parliament as "concessions to populist pressures" and emphasized that Kazakhstan "will not survive dual power." In his tour of the northern Mangistau and Kokshetau Regions during the week end he emphasized that the Supreme Soviet's rejection of a resolution giving the president and government powers to make speedy decisions on accelerating economic reforms had contributed to deterioration of the situation.

Regarding local soviets (in Almaty alone four district soviets have dissolved themselves recently), Nazarbayev said that self- dissolution was probably not the best way to handle the matter but to waste more time would be intolerable. "Only a strong authority can keep Kazakhstan united," he thinks.

The president believes that the country should have a professional, 135-seat parliament which could be called the National Assembly.

Only strong executive authority can build the fundamentals of democracy in Kazakhstan, he thinks. "In numerous legal fields, we have wasted time," Nazarbayev emphasized.

Envoy Urges Special Status for Russians in Kazakhstan

LD2311094093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0911 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Tatyana Zhurbenko for TASS]

[Text] Almaty November 23 TASS—"It is not dual citizenship, but a special status given to Russians who turned out to be in neighbouring former Soviet republics that can improve the position of our compatriots," said Sergey Tyurin, head of the Russian Consulate in Kazakhstan.

In his opinion, a big number of the Russian-speaking population residing in Kazakhstan who recently applied to the Embassy of the Russian Federation asking to grant them Russian citizenship is not the result of the introduction of the Kazakh national currency but was rather caused the deadline set in Tajikistan and which expires on March 1, 1994, by which all those residing in the republic are to decide on their citizenship.

Servicemen are in a especially difficult position since the problem on their citizenship promised to be resolved by Russia and Kazakhstan in 1992 remains unsettled yet. Many Russian officers are prepared to give up their jobs, considerably increased wages and their apartments in Kazakhstan for the sake of returning to their historical motherland.

"This problem should be urgently attended to," the Russian diplomat said.

Tajikistan

Border Posts Raked by Gunfire, Shelled

LD2311092793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0807 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 23 TASS—The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remains tense. On Monday, three rocket shells were fired at a border guard post under the surveillance of the Tajik National Security Committee in the zone patrolled by the 12th border guard post of the Moscow border guards.

Later in the day, a team of border guards of the 12th border guard post in the Pyandzh area were attacked by gunfire, ITAR-TASS learned from the headquarters of Russian border guards stationed in Tajikistan.

Border guards took measures in retaliation. No casualties among Russian servicemen have been reported.

3,000 'Militants' Massing in North Afghanistan

LD2311112693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0425 GMT 23 Nov 93

[From the "Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] About 3,000 militants of the Tajik opposition are massed along the Afghan side of the Tajik-Afghan border. This was disclosed by one of Russian border guards detachments. In the last few days the militants have been seen actively redeploying on the Afghan side of the border. Russian border guard commanders believe the present situation can only be resolved through talks with the opposition at various levels.

Rebel Chief Denies Massing of Forces

BK2311072893 Hong Kong AFP in English 0706 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By Terence White]

[Text] KABUL, Nov 23 (AFP)—A senior Tajik Islamic resistance leader Tuesday denied allegations that Tajik mojahedin were massing in Afghanistan for an attack against bases of the Russian-backed ex-communist regime in Tajikistan.

Mohammad Sharif Himatzada, leader of the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan emphatically rejected a

Russian general's accusations that 5,000 Tajik mojahedin were readying themselves for an offensive across the Amu Darya River into Tajikistan.

"We categorically deny these accusations. Our military bases are inside Tajikistan and we start all our offensives from these," Himatzada told AFP.

"We are trying our best not to involve the Afghan government in the Tajik crisis," stressed the Tajik leader. "We don't have military bases in Afghanistan nor do we get military training there."

In fact, the only outside assistance the Tajiks receive is from Uzbaks who have fled the communist oppression in Uzbekistan Himatzada commented, but even these volunteers were seeking combat experience rather than offering it.

Himatzada said more than 50 percent of Tajik territory was now in the hands of the alliance of four main resistance parties who have fought for a year in order to regain control of Tajikistan from the Russian-supported Tajik communist regime.

"We are not going to accept the principle of sharing power with the current Tajik communist regime," Himatzada stated firmly.

"We have only one pre-condition for negotiations, and that is to sit with the Russians alone," he remarked.

Himatzada elaborated that the "puppet-regime" based in the Tajik capital Dushanbe would accept whatever agreement their "Russian masters" came to with the Tajik resistance movement.

The Tajik freedom fighters are engaged "in a fierce struggle" on four fronts Himatzada explained, the most important of which was in Tawil Darrah, a strategic valley which is linked by road to Doshanbe.

Himatzada said Tawil Darra was re-taken one month ago after it was lost in an August offensive involving Russian jet- and helicopter-strikes and severe long-range rocket bombardments.

To the south of Tawil Darra, in Kulab province bordering Afghanistan's Badakhshan, the Tajiks claim to have captured Shoorabad and the strategic heights around Moscowvisky and destroyed many Russian-manned border posts and large quantities of ammunition.

Himatzada's final word was a message not only to the Russians, but also to the West: "Stop this fighting as soon as possible. Don't let the flames of war spread.

522 Refugees Cross Border From Afghanistan

LD2311113193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 23 Nov 93

[By KHOVAR correspondent Valeriy Zhukov]

[Text] Dushanbe, November 23 (TASS)—A total of 522 Tajik refugees have crossed into Tajikistan through the Pyandzh border last night returning home from the Afghan port of Sherkhan-Bardan.

However, militants of the Tajik opposition who took refuge in Afghanistan and Afghan Mojahideens are creating obstacles to the process of repatriation, acting U.N. chief commissioner for refugee problem in Afghanistan, Michelle Santre, said during talks with Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov.

The U.N. commissioner said that he could see this for himself during his visit to the Kunduz Province.

The Tajik foreign minister and the U.N. commissioner voiced a common opinion that it is necessary to coordinate efforts made by the Kabul and Dushanbe authorities and international organisations for normally completing the process.

Cabinet Decision on Accelerating Privatization

LD2311120193 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 0400 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] The Tajikistan Council of Ministers adopted a decision on speeding up the process of denationalization and privatization in the Republic of Tajikistan. The decision notes that the denationalization and privatization of state property in the republic is being implemented intolerably slowly and this is one of the basic reasons for the reduction in the level of production in all spheres of the economy, for the inadequate development of competition, and also for the increasing shortage on the consumer market.

In order to support entrepreneurial activity, to bring about a more widespread increase in (?all) commercial structures and other investors, to overcome the state monopoly in the work of the national economy and in the formation of market relations on the basis of a variety of forms of ownership, the Tajikistan Council of Ministers has instructed the State Committee for the Management of State Property of the Republic of Tajikistan, jointly with ministries, departments, concerns, associations, and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies to take effective measures to bring about widespread denationalization and privatization of large and medium sized enterprises by setting up joint stock companies, holding companies, and joint enterprises involving participation by foreign investments.

This work should be carried out by bodies of the State Committee for the Management of State Property and the appropriate executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies on the basis of the existing legislation of the Republic of Tajikistan. During share issues for major enterprises, the list of which is to be approved by special government decisions in accordance with the representations of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, the right to exercise active control of shares belonging to the state may be transferred to the appropriate bodies of state government.

The Ministry of Economics, the Ministry of Finance, and the State Committee for the Management of State Property of the Republic of Tajikistan have been instructed to formulate (?effective) measures for procedure for registering state (?shares) and income from their use by 1 December 1993.

Armenia

Official: Kazimirov Incident 'Planned Provocation'

NC2211164793 Yerevan SNARK in English 0915 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 22 (SNARK)—Aram Abrahamyan, Press-Secretary of the Armenian President, considers the incident which took place Saturday morning with the representative of the Russian Foreign Department the planned provocation undertaken by Azerbaijan.

On November 20 the cars with Vladimir Kazimirov and Azerbaijani militaries accompanied him were fired at the border with Armenia where Kazimirov was going.

Speaking to SNARK Press-Secretary said that cars were following the Mzem (Kazakhskiy region, Azerbaijan) - Voskepar (Noyemberyanskiy region, Armenia) tour in spite of the fact that the Armenian side, Abrahamyan said, had informed the Russian Foreign Department and the Azerbaijani authorities on the tension existing at this part of the border. The Armenian side suggested the other tour—Kazakhskiy - Idzhevan guaranteeing the security. The official Moscow and Baku agreed. But there was taken the decision to accompany Kazimirov to Armenia along the dangerous road without informing Armenia of the fact. Fortunately, [there were] no serious victims.

Details Provided on Attack

NC2211204593 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] While traveling in Azerbaijani territory on their way from Azerbaijan to Armenia on the morning of 20 November someone fired on the car convoy carrying Kazimirov, the Russian president's ambassador for special missions. There were no deaths or injuries; only one car was damaged.

Ambassador Kazimirov is still in the region to continue Russia's efforts to settle the Karabakh conflict and reestablish the cease-fire.

Following his talks with the Baku authorities, the ambassador was to leave for Yerevan and then go to Stepanakert.

On 18 November, Davit Shakhnazaryan, the Armenian president's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for special missions, reached agreement with Kazimirov, who was still in Baku then, for the latter to enter Armenia via the Kazakh-Idzhevan road. Shakhnazaryan informed him that the Armenian representatives would wait for them on the border at 1600 on 19 November.

During the talks with the Army command in Kazakhskiy Rayon on 18 November, the Azerbaijani side stated that they preferred to send Kazimirov to Armenia via the Voskepar road. The Armenian side clearly replied that, according to already concluded agreement, the Armenian side would wait for Kazimirov on the Kazakh-Idzhevan road.

Ambassador Davit Shakhnazaryan contacted Ignatov, a member of Ambassador Kazimirov's staff, on the evening of 19 November and, after informing him about this development, told him that the Kazakh-Idzhevan road was the only secure road in view of the fact that the local administrations in Idzhevanskiy and Kazakhskiy rayons had established a security mechanism on the borders of these two rayons. Many meetings and talks were held at this border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Davit Shakhnazaryan also informed Ignatov that lately Oskepar had frequently been shelled by Azerbaijan, as a result of which Armenian citizens had been killed; he said that this region had been mined, mostly by Azerbaijanis, and that the local administrations had not set up any security mechanism there to receive Kazimirov. Therefore, Armenia firmly insisted that the Azerbaijani authorities bring Kazimirov to the Armenian border via the Kazakh-Idzhevan road.

Ambassador Shakhnazaryan also conveyed to Mr. Ignatov his concern that the Azerbaijani side preferred the Voskepar road for purely political reasons. Mr. Ignatov asked Shakhnazarov to directly contact Kazimirov, who at the time was in Kazakh, and to inform him of the same concerns. However, all attempts to contact Ambassador Kazimirov were in vain. The Baku telephone operator refused to connect the line, arguing that he had orders not to let Armenia contact Kazimirov. Shakhnazaryan immediately informed Ignatov of this development. Igantov checked out this information and confirmed it.

Shakhnazaryan informed Ignatov on the morning of 20 November that the Armenian representatives had returned to the Kazakh-Idzhevan border and were waiting for Kazimirov there between 0830-1700 on 20 November. This was because the Azerbaijanis had violated the agreement to bring Kazimirov to Armenia via the Kazakh-Idzhevan road the previous day.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry puts the entire blame for the incident on the Azerbaijani authorities who—in pursuing political and propagandistic goals aimed at undermining Russia's mediatory efforts for the peaceful settlement of Karabakh conflict, and at creating an atmosphere of insecurity—endangered the security of Ambassador Kazimirov and of their own citizens, scuttled Kazimirov's charted itinerary and, motivated by political goals, took him on the Voskepar road, the dangers of which have been frequently and clearly pointed out by Armenia.

It is still not clear why Kazimirov agreed to the alternative road proposed by Azerbaijan.

The Armenian Republic demands that the Russian Federation set up a special plenipotentiary commission to examine all the circumstances of the incident and to

make a political judgment on Azerbaijan's persistently provocative policy, which in this case cannot be interpreted other than as an intention to sabotage Russian mediation.

Papazyan Reacts to Kozyrev on Incident

NC2211191693 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan sent a cable to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on 21 November in connection with the incident that took place on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border on the morning of 20 November.

The cable says: Setting aside the circumstances surrounding the incident, I regret what happened, though I must confess that the sharp note of your statement before the clarification of all the details of the incident is incomprehensible to me. I also consider it necessary to underline that the Azerbaijani side bears full responsibility for the incident. Azerbaijan clearly violated the agreement as regards the timing and especially the location where the ambassador had to cross the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.

It is obvious that the aim of this violation was to create a further pretext to evade giving a positive response to the new [CSCE] schedule on 22 November, and more importantly to create obstacles to the successful progress of the latest Russian initiative, which is getting support and which the Armenian side is showing interest in.

In my opinion, a public statement by Ambassador Kazimirov's would have been helpful in clarifying the incident, and whether he was aware of the details concerning the changes introduced to his itinerary by the Azerbaijani side, or if he became an unwilling victim of the provocation organized by the Baku authorities.

I consider it my duty to declare with outmost sincerity that without such a statement and without a clarification of Ambassador Kazimirov's stance, the Armenian Republic might find itself in quite a difficult situation regarding future cooperation with the ambassador in his capacity as mediator for the settlement of the Karabakh problem.

CSCE Schedule Under Discussion in Stepanakert

NC2211211493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1610 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 22 (SNARK)—Today is the last day of the terms during which the both of the parties in Karabakh conflict must answer the new version of "schedule of the pressing measures" for the conflict settlement, suggested by the Minsk group of the CSCE. Manvel Sargisyan, the adviser of the foreign minister of Karabakh, said to SNARK that sometimes the discussion of the schedule, which is still continuing now in Stepanakert, has hot character. To the question how long will the discussion continue the adviser abstained from the answer.

Papazyan Accepts Schedule

NC2211221293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan sent a message to Senator Mario Raffaelli, chairman of CSCE Minsk Group, on 22 November in which, in the name of the Armenian Republic, he expresses his agreement to the revised schedule of urgent measures drawn up during the informal talks of the senior officers of the CSCE Minsk Group held recently in Vienna.

The message says that while positively responding to this schedule, Armenia expects a similar reply from the principle sides to the existing conflicts in the region, namely, from Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Some Old Rubles To Remain in Circulation With Dram

NC2311085293 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1453 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, 22 Nov (ARMENPRES)—The national banknotes—drams in denominations of 10, 25, 50, 100, 200, and 500 issued by the Armenian Central Bank—are to go into circulation in Armenia as of today. One dram is equal to 200 rubles.

The ruble denominations of 1, 3, 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, 200, and 500 issued by the USSR State Bank between 1961 and 1992 are to remain in circulation alongside the new currency. The ruble denominations of 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 issued by the USSR State Bank and Russian Central Bank between 1991 and 1992 are to be withdrawn from circulation.

Each citizen of age could immediately exchange 50,000 rubles and receive 250 drams. Any amount above that should be deposited in the banks by 26 November for six months with 48 percent yearly interest.

By decision of the Armenian State Commission on Regulating the Currency Circulation, the exchange rate of the dram has been fixed at one dram for 84 Russian rubles, and 100 dram for $7.

Businesses Ignore New Drams

NC2211211993 Yerevan SNARK in English 1610 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Yerevan, November 22 (SNARK)—The majority of the commercial shops are trading using only Russian and American hard currency and paying no attention at the so-called Armenian Rouble of 1961-1992 and the new Armenian currency—"dram" introduced today in spite of the fact that last week there was issued the statement of the state commission of the regulation of the money circulation which says that there will be

undertaken the sanctions following the law if the sellers refuse to accept national currency. All the fuel: kerosene, benzine etc. can be bought only by Russian and American currency. The SNARK's reporter was unable to refuel even the lighter.

Presidential Adviser Removed From Post

NC1911214693 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan signed a decree today removing Vahan Grigori Shirkhanyan from his post as adviser to the Armenian president. Shirkhanyan requested this decree in connection with his transfer to another job.

Georgia

Shevardnadze on Creation of New Party

LD2211204693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1313 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Regularly scheduled Monday interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by Mato Oniani on 22 November; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Oniani] Batono Eduard, something rather significant occurred in Georgia's political life yesterday; a new political force, the Union of Georgia's Citizens, was created. You were often reproached for not caring about the creation of your own team. Neither the parliamentary majority nor the Unity and Prosperity civic movement managed to meet the demands. Will the Union of Georgia's Citizens become a team, Shevardnadze's team, and what will it provide you with as the head of state to solve political problems, to settle social problems, at least partially, and to improve the criminal and economic situation?

[Shevardnadze] Thank you, I welcome all of you. This political movement, the Union of Georgia's Citizens was created at an appropriate time. I did pay attention to those reproaches and rebukes about why a party had not been established, why Shevardnadze did not create a political force, something to lean on, and so on. I had a different aspiration before and did not want to make this decision in a hurry. When the problem ripened and the community became convinced with and ready for it, we decided to create the Union of Georgia's Citizens.

I am not going to elaborate on what this Union is and what its tasks are because a declaration has been issued, and it will be made public when it becomes possible, and the population of Georgia will be able to read each phrase and each word attentively.

I will repeat only a couple of fragments from my speech and the declaration. This political organization, the Union of Georgia's Citizens, is advancing on the tide of construction, as I said yesterday, and to be more exact, the Union, this political organization, should be able to increase the power of this tidal wave of construction. It should ride on this tidal wave, but it must initiate the wave. This is how it differs from other parties and political movements: its principal task is construction and it is beginning its activities by construction.

It is not a temporary phenomenon, a political campaign. Its existance has not been prompted by political advantages. It is, in my opinion, an organization that will function and live for a long period of time, and it will work for the well-being of Georgia. The Union of Georgia's Citizens is a political basis for the authorities, current or future authorities. This is a political force that involves virtually all of Georgia. The object of its care is the citizen, the individual rather than parties. The citizen and the individual are the primary target of the Union. Words we used in the past are also applicable now; this is the principal line of the Union and our major task.

I have no doubt that the Union will have numerous members, that here...[pauses] I am not going to give you my forecast. I do not want to speak too soon, but it will be a very large organization. We, the leading group, are going to get together today, and I think my colleagues will support my proposition to establish a category of collective membership. I mean to provide some organizations with the possibility to join the Union collectively. We have already received dozens of letters from very big, giant organizations expressing desire to become collective members of the Union. So, let no one regard this ironically. This will really be a big power, which, as I have already said, will be a political basis for the present and future authorities. A lot of things have been stated in the declaration. It will be published and the population of Georgia will consider and discuss it.

[Oniani] And still, Batono Eduard, this new political force, the Union of Georgia's Citizens, has been established on the basis of three organizations, and only one of those, the Greens' Party, is a political party. You have said that the new organization will be a Western-styled political force. What do you mean by this definition? And another question: Can a third force be expected to appear on the political arena? I mean, the oppositiono. Several opposing parties united some time ago; then a new organization, the Union of Georgia's Citizens was created. Is there a possibility for yet another, a third force to appear?

[Shevardnadze] When we speak about a Western orientation we do not mean anything special. We do not attach any special and extraordinary meaning to it. First of all, this means that it is a basis for democracy; democratic values form the basis of this organization. This is the main thing, democratic values. Since democracy has mainly originated in the West, we often emphasize that the orientation is Western when speaking of the course of developing democracy and democratic structures and institutions. Our union is a movement and a political force based on these democratic values.

One of the major ways or rather instruments will be the structures by means of which the Union of Georgia's Citizens will participate in elections, when the time comes. The electoral struggle will be similar to that in the West, in the democratic institutions, parties, and movements of the West. To win the elections is not an end in itself. The Union will need a victory for a better protection of the interests of Georgia's population and the state. In economics, and this is of major importance, these interests lie in drastic reforms. In this respect, we follow the path taken by the West. [passage omitted] This includes the recognition of competitiveness and a struggle for justice.

To make a long story short, freedom of a citizen, an individual, as well as the well- being of the country and free enterprise, are the cornerstone of our Union, and this indicates that we are an organization of Western orientation.

As for a third force, well, a second force as well as a third force can also emerge. I do not know who can be considered a second force. There are plenty of parties in our country. I do not know how viable other associations that are talked about so much will be. The future will tell. I welcome any kind of associations that will serve Georgia's interests, the interests of democratic development and strengthening of the country. As for a need for an emergence of a third force to the arena, I think there will be one.

But, for the time being, from the point of interest of the Union, the principal thing is to strengthen the Union and to make it an actual leading force. I cannot rule out that after this, the Union itself will care about having an honorable partner, like, for instance, a two-party system in the United States. This is a basic thing. It does not seem sensible to have 100 parties in the country and all those 100 to claim ruling the country. This would not be normal. We had to pass this way, and the establishment of the Union will bring us nearer to civiiized regulations in the life of the country.

[Oniani] Will this new Union become a ruling political force? Will it have claims to the majority of posts in the government? Will it be a force to establish a basis for the creation of a national ideology of the Georgian state? A lot of problems in our country are due to the actual absence of national ideology, which must exist.

[Shevardnadze] My answer will not be evasive. By all means, it is a ruling political force. I can already see its present potential here in Tbilisi, in the regions, in the organizations, within the population, and it will indeed be a ruling political force in the future. I have no doubt in it, and, to tell the truth, I see a guarantee of stability and calm in our country in it.

As for the question on whether the Union will be an author of the national ideology, whether it has claims to be the one, of course the Union will be working on it, and if it has to be a leading political force, it is natural that it will have to determine the main direction. [passage omitted]. The Union has come out into the arena—I am emphasizing this—and it assumes responsibilities before the people and the country.

[Oniani] This week, a plenary meeting of the parliament will be held. Do you think the idea of holding new parliamentary elections has already ripened, and if so, would it not have been better to create the Union of Georgia's Citizens during the period immediately preceding elections? I am asking this question because you yourself said that the Union will participate in the elections and will submit its claims.

[Shevardnadze] The idea of elections is being intensely considered in the political circles of Georgia and I think it is not unfounded. At some stage, this issue will apparently become acute. But I would like this to be linked to the adoption of a new constitution. This approach of mine is still in force.

As for creating a movement or party just before elections, it is also possible and we considered this possibility carefully, but I think this would look sort of like cheating the electorate, using the time for temporary interests, using a political situation for the interests of a certain political group. At a time like this, a political party or a political force has a chance to promise anything to the people, win the elections and then-...[pauses] there have been plenty of examples when a lot of promises were actually followed by thwarting the people's hopes.

The Union of Georgia's Citizens will not follow this way. We have to show the people who we are and what we can do far before elections, and the population should evaluate us according to our deeds and not promises. Dear citizens, if you scrutinize the declaration, which will be published in the press soon, you will see that there are few promises, or rather there are hardly any promises, and this is not accidental. We have determined our course and tasks, and we have to prove by our deeds or rather we have to prove together with you who we are and what we can do.

[Oniani] The situation in western Georgia is gradually improving. The fight against looting is continuing. Illegal units are surrendering weapons. Checkpoints also appeared in Tbilisi this week. However, there are more than enough forces in Georgia interested neither in an end to the war nor in the establishment of order. This is because there will no longer be a need for them in the country, and their role will diminish.

[Shevardnadze] The people are not only tired of disorder but also of talk about the necessity to establish order. To postpone this issue until other measures are found would mean wasting time. I have to say today very simply that we must establish order, whatever this may cost us, and we will establish it. The state of emergency is creating good conditions for doing this, which despite the fact that it did not prove very effective, allowed us to gain considerable experience. I have made a decision to extend it, which, I think, the parliament will confirm.

A special emergency committee has been formed, which is now functioning and working. It has implemented many effective measures, but I still think that the bulk of the responsibility must be taken by the law enforcement bodies—the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Security. They should be supported by the Defense Ministry with its fairly well-developed structures—the military police and the military prosecutor's office. All these systems, these structures should be doing their business, which will make it feasible to establish order.

I must say with a certain degree of gratitude that our interior affairs system, which fought and fights crime with bare hands, as well as the security system, have received a rather large assistance from the respective Russian services. I am talking about weapons, equipment, and other facilities. Without this, it is impossible to fight crime. I must welcome steps taken by our structures, in particular Mr. Giorgadze and Mr. Kviraia, who have found a common language with their counterparts in Russia. I think that these ministries will receive adequate assistance in the near future, in the next few days. If they have appropriate material and technical resources, they will become responsible, they will assume responsibility for establishing order in the country. We will be able to do it, we will do it.

[Oniani] Batono Eduard, at a recent meeting in the mayor's office, you spoke about issues relating to the bread problem. The existence of a bread mafia, as well as a gasoline mafia has been admitted. The population complains that relatively cheap bread is delivered to the shops in small quantities and too late, while more expensive commercial bread is easier to find and it is available in larger quantities. In today's extremely complex situation, when bread is so vital to our public, there are still many problems that price rises have failed to solve.

[Shevardnadze] I covered these issues in my speech at the mayor's office. [passage omitted] I would like to discuss this issue in the context of what I said before about order. My observation is that a mafia has been organized. Just one example: 60 tonnes of bread have been taken out of a plant and sold in a rayon bordering a foreign state. How can this be happening? This is the mafia, only the mafia and organized criminals can do this. They are all mafiosi, be it a director or senior officials.

[Oniani] Has anybody been punished or will anybody be punished?

[Shevardnadze] The mafia can see that there will be no easy money, and that is why it is fiercely resisting the introduction of rationing. It knows that if this happens, it will have less opportunity to steal and rob. I state decisively that we will take extreme measures, even bring criminal charges against officials of any rank, anybody taking part in these terrible machinations.

I have received pledges from the city leadership, the leadership of the state bread concern and relevant officials that in the next few days, not months but days, order will be restored. If this does not happen, the population will be told exactly who the culprits are and who will be prosecuted. There can be no other language. Everything has been tried and tested. We are assisting and helping them, and now order should be restored. [passage omitted: Oniani says that Georgia's enemies were timing their attacks in the past to coincide with religious holidays. She says there are rumors in Tbilisi that rebels are going to mount an offensive on 23 November, when Georgia celebrates St George's Day]

If they try to do something, they will of course be punished. We have told these people to leave the woods and return to their homes, and then those who have not killed a man will be pardoned. [words indistinct]

[Oniani] Many have surrendered already.

[Shevardnadze] Many have surrendered. For example, Zhghenti [rebel leader Kobalia's deputy], who has come to Tbilisi and repented. I do not know how it will end, but I believe that people who have repented for their crimes should not be crucified and hanged. They will have the opportunity to return to normal life, and so will others. There are many who have surrendered weapons, while others did not report to us before going back home. Even this is acceptable to us.

However, if they attempt to do something, if they start an adventure, we will destroy them, destroy in the full meaning of this word. There are necessary forces and equipment for this. I just want to warn them again that if they do it, blood will be spilled. Blood will be spilled. If they are thirsty for blood, they can go to another country and drink blood there.

I would also say that if they attempt to do something on St. George's day, the Georgian people will really understand the phrase, black force, which I used to describe Gamsakhurdia and his minions. The former president is an antichrist, black force, antichrist, some kind of disaster that has struck our people, amd now the process of healing is under way. We will try to speed up this process by surgical intervention, if necessary. That is how I would like to finish.

[Oniani] Thank you.

Chances for Shevardnadze's Party Assessed

MK1911122093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by Yuriy Simonyan: "Will There Be a Party of Shevardnadze? Signs of Stabilization Show in Megrelia but Not All Zviadists Laid Down Their Arms"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze has once again announced forming his own ruling party capable of withstanding any pressure from the opposition members. The idea has

long been discussed after Shevardnadze returned to Georgia. There was no real action, though, save that in late spring the head of state tried to create something like a party or an organization resembling the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms. This initiative somehow began to peter out and then withered. As for the five rather big opposition parties (Union of Traditionalists, Merab Khostava Society, "Charter-91"—Freedom Party, Conservative-Monarchist Party, and the Ilya Chavchavadze Society), they have announced the creation of a unified bloc. While the so-called "alliance of the five," according to all political forecasts, cannot serve as a lasting and reliable counterbalance to the ruling structures owing to the dissimilarity of their programs, many politicians are inclined to believe that Eduard Shevardnadze's decision to create his own party was dictated by either the threat from the opposition, which is forming a union, or by the desire to feel relatively safe in parliament, which resumes proceedings late in November.

This becomes understandable if one recalls the latest developments in Georgia's political life. The National Democratic Party—the mainstay of the head of state—will perhaps stop being such in the wake of Shevardnadze's decision on Georgia's joining the CIS. The loyal People's Front may generally step aside for the same reason. Thus, with the exception of the Social Democratic Party and the "Green" party, Eduard Shevardnadze is being left with that part of parliament which is prepared to agree with any leader regardless of his decisions, which in itself cannot lend the head of state special confidence.

What the new party is and could it be created at all, is hard to say. More so because it has been impossible to procure any additional information. But most probably, if Shevardnadze finally decides to bring together his supporters, the party's backbone should be formed by the society "Tbiliseli" which on more than one or two occasions in recent months demonstrated its loyalty to Eduard Shevardnadze and a readiness to uphold his decisions.

Abkhaz Officials: Tbilisi Preparing New Offensive

LD2211194593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Sultan Sosnaliyev, Abkhazia's Defense Minister, told Interfax that Georgian troops had been concentrating on the banks of the border river of Inguri, chiefly in the village of Anakliya two kilometers from the border.

Sosnaliyev thinks that these military preparations have nothing to do with law enforcement in Western Georgia but are preparations for aggression.

Abkhazian security chief Astamur Tarba told Interfax that he had intelligence reports on Georgian preparations for a new invasion of Abkhazia. In his words, the Georgian military command has drafted over 5000 refugees from Abkhazia into the army.

Tbilisi Denies Charges

LD2211205793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1928 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] The Georgian Defense Ministry's press center on Monday rejected the Abkhazian parliament's claim that Georgian troops were concentrating along the banks of the river Inguri in preparation for launching an attack on Abkhazia. The defense ministry announced that only enough troops to eliminate groups of Gamsakhurdia loyalists were currently in Western Georgia.

The ministry went on to say that a group of diversants had been captured close to the river Inguri in the settlement of Rukhi. The group included 5 Abkhazians and Chechens. They were sent to the left bank from the Abkhazian side.

In addition, bordering villages were being subjected to constant attack, murders were taking place, homes were being burned, and there were cases of marauding, pillaging and rape. "These instances, which represent only a small part what was going on, are proof precisely who is attempting to provoke conflict," the document stresses.

Government Forces Come Under Fire in Zugdidi

LD2311110793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Excerpt] Deputy Interior Minister Gen Gia Gulua and representatives of interior troops and police arrived in the village of Narazeni in Zugdidi Rayon. As they were engaged in explanatory work with the local population and the ex-president's supporters to persuade them to surrender weapons voluntarily, they came under fire from the ex-president's supporters in the woods. Gigla Berishvili was killed and Rezo Berishvili was seriously wounded as a result of return fire. Rezo Berishvili was taken to hospital. The other attackers escaped. [passage omitted]

Tbilisi Blocks Abkhaz Efforts To Join Russia

MK1911133093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 18/20 19-25 Nov 93 (Signed to press 18 Nov) p 2

[Yekaterina Pavlova report under the "Bottom Line" rubric: "Church Tries To Bring People Together. Politicians Do Not Stay Aloof, Either"]

[Text] Speaking on Georgian television the other day, Dzhaba Ioseliani talked about the results of his Moscow visit, during which he held meetings with Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Emergency Situations, and Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Pastukhov.

According to Ioseliani, the Russian side has realized that it made a serious mistake by assisting the Abkhaz separatists. Russia, Ioseliani said, has sent an ultimatum to the Abkhaz leaders demanding political repentance, the return of refugees, and a complete disarmament of the Abkhaz army.

Meanwhile, the meeting of the State Committee for Emergency Situations attended by Dzhaba Ioseliani focused exclusively on matters that are immeasurably far from politics, namely on cooperation between Georgia and Russia in tackling natural and technological disasters, because Dzhaba Ioseliani is presently chief of a Georgian agency similar to the State Committee for Emergency Situations.

As subtle and sophisticated a politician as he is, the leader of "Mhedrioni" did not make public these "sensational revelations" in the heat of polemics, however. The concurrence of events was all too favorable... Not so long ago, Vladislav Ardzinba, chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet, said that as soon as the republic's borders are fortified, all refugees will be able to return to their homes. Security was guaranteed to people of any ethnic origin. In his message to the United Nations, Ardzinba reaffirmed his willingness gradually to demilitarize the republic, to disarm and to disband military formations—of course provided the world community gives appropriate guarantees. There has also been "a repentance"—the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet admitted that the Abkhaz side was the first to have violated the Sochi agreements because it did not see the trilateral peacekeeping activity producing any tangible results.

Thus, the "measures" listed by Dzhaba Ioseliani have in fact been taken or will be taken in the not so distant future. The only difference is that while approving of and supporting Abkhazia's steps in this direction, Russia has not called on it to do anything, let alone admit any mistakes. The Russian Federation Government has been and continues to be engaged in mediation with regard to both sides and is not intent on taking stances "for" or "against" either of them. As for the "unofficial" assistance by Russian citizens to Abkhazia, this is not Russia's fault, but rather its headache.

Abkhazia has long been attracted to Russia. Georgian leaders have been no less passionate in their attempts to cause a rift between Russia and Abkhazia. Since the very beginning of the Georgian-Abkhaz war, it was Shoygu and Pastukhov whom the Russian Government tasked with carrying out the peacekeeping mission. From Ioseliani's point of view, the current "statement" by Shoygu and Pastukhov should be perceived in Abkhazia as a sellout. Hence, it would negatively affect the decision on Abkhazia's joining the Russian Federation. All the more so because no one has given Abkhazia any pledges to that effect.

This incident is curiously reminiscent of children's games in a sandbox—sand castles, bleeding noses, and an angry cry: "That big guy will not play with you anymore; he is playing with me now!"

Parliamentarians Recommend Extending State of Emergency

PM2211164593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Vitaliy Alekseyev and Sergey Prokopenko: "State of Emergency Arrangements Will Probably Be Extended in Georgia"]

[Text] The state of emergency comes to an end in Georgia 20 November. In this connection a session of the parliamentary team monitoring the state of emergency rules has been held under the leadership of parliament Deputy Speaker Vakhtang Rcheulishvili. It analyzed the work of the law-enforcement agencies and heard reports from the leaders of the relevant services, commandants' offices, the military prosecutor's office, the police, and the State Security Committee.

The team, despite numerous critical comments, deemed it advisable to extend the state of emergency. The members of parliament belonging to the team and the law-enforcement agency workers will make a number of specific proposals concerning the state of emergency rules in the light of identified shortcomings in the course of two days. In this regard many people are anxious to know the decision the session of the Georgian parliament scheduled for 23 November will make, since, if the state of emergency arrangements are extended, the elected representatives' "recess" could become virtually eternal.

It is clear that the parliamentary monitoring team's decision is pretty symptomatic. The deep economic crisis, the impoverishment of the people, and the rampant crime rate represent a far from complete list of the ills afflicting the present Georgian state. It is indisputable that neither the state of emergency arrangements nor the functioning of parliament will cure them. Only the establishment of lasting civil peace, the repudiation of a policy of self-isolation, and the broad integration of the economy within the CIS framework, above all else, are capable of removing the republic from its impasse.

Parliament Speaker on Restoring Ties With Russia

MK1911131093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No 18/20, 19-25 Nov 93 (Signed to press 18 Nov) p 2

[Interview with Vakhtang Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian parliament, by David Davitashvili under the "A Call to the Speaker" rubric: "Collapsed Bridges Need To Be Restored"—first two paragraphs are OBSHCHAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] "We, representatives of ancient Orthodox churches, continuing the centuries-old spiritual tradition of the peoples of Georgia and Russia, recognizing our responsibility

for the present and the future of these peoples and for their spiritual and moral makeup, appeal to you to stop the disintegration of the brotherly relations between our peoples and states and to do everything possible to make sure that at this difficult period, when our peoples are learning to build their life in conditions of freedom, these relations receive a new impetus." (From a joint appeal by Aleksiy II, patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and Katolikos Iliya II, patriarch of All Georgia, to the parliaments, governments, and peoples of the Russian Federation and Georgia.)

The appeal by the heads of fraternal Orthodox churches should be viewed as a major landmark in the spiritual revival of Russia and Georgia and in restoring friendly relations—this was how this event was assessed by Georgian parliament speaker Vakhtang Goguadze, who was the first among the republic's statesmen to declare the need for Georgia to join the CIS.

[Davitashvili] Far from all of Georgia is enthusiastic about joining the CIS. Many still see only evil in Russia, looking for "the hand of Moscow" everywhere....

[Goguadze] It needs to be recognized that our present catastrophic situation is mainly the result of our own policy. It is necessary to choose the path of reason, based on the preservation of Georgia. There is nothing more important for the republic today than to clarify and develop its relations with Russia and with all of the CIS states. This is an objective reality. In the last three years, instead of addressing this problem, we have ignored it.

[Davitashvili] How do you see ideal relations with Russia?

[Goguadze] Confrontation with the "northern neighbor" threatens Georgia with complete destruction. The nation has no right to embark down the path of self-annihilation. The most desirable form in relations with Russian and other republics is Georgia's status as a country of active neutrality. In the current geopolitical situation, however, in the context of an extremely dynamic political and social environment in Georgia, such a form cannot prevail. Interstate cooperation and friendship with Russia are vital. The more sincere and trustworthy our relations are, the fewer problems there will be. Our present policy, our thoughts and words, must serve only one cause—ensuring a positive result for Georgia.

[Davitashvili] How is this to be done?

[Goguadze] By clearly formulating the position by the Georgian authorities and public with respect to relations with Russia. Our position may be based only on friendship, cooperation, and brotherhood. There is a need for a state concept and a mechanism for its implementation on a legislative basis with due consideration for international norms. Many friends, not enemies, and good relations between our peoples—this is the goal of political, public, and intellectual activity for Georgia.

The streamlining of interstate relations should begin with information exchanges. Accurate information is the basis of correct state decisions. Therefore it is essential to ensure the full responsibility of the mass media, primarily TV. A treaty is needed between Russian Federation TV and Georgian TV, including obligations for mutual respect between the states and taking into account the high civic and universal human goals. The mass media, literature, and art are to restore a multitude of bridges in spiritual relations between our countries that have collapsed. And it is the government's task to provide the requisite conditions for that.

The question is this: Are we to be or not to be? Where are we headed and where should we be headed? Only healthy realism and a realistic assessment of our capabilities will allow us to take the right path.

Criminal Proceedings Launched Against DRONI

LD2211180693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1743 GMT 22 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 22 TASS—The Georgian prosecutor's office has launched criminal proceedings against the Tbilisi "DRONI" newspaper, which had published an interview of a popular front leader Nodar Natadze.

The newspaper quoted Natadze as saying "every member of the parliament who votes for Georgia's entering the Commonwealth of Independent States deserves the death penalty and will be punished as a traitor of his people".

Georgian parliament will held a plenary session on November 25 after a two-month break caused by the state of emergency on the entire territory of the republic and will undoubtedly centre around the issue of ratifying Georgia's entering the CIS.

It was Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze who initiated the republic's joining of the CIS after it suffered a military defeat in Abkhazia.

The prosecutor's office qualified Natadze's words a call for violence.

If the court decides to close the newspaper it will be the third one suspended lately by the Georgian authorities. Earlier two pro-Gamsakhurdia newspapers were closed for almost the same reasons.

Estonia

Tallinn Demands Timetable for Russian Withdrawal

LD1911124093 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Estonia has issued a statement in connection with the Russian troop withdrawal from Estonia. The statement says that the Russian troop withdrawal has reached a stage where the withdrawal of all remaining military units within the next few months would be technically possible. The Russian delegation put forward 31 August 1994 in its new proposal as the date for the final troop withdrawal, at the fifteenth round of the Estonian-Russian talks.

The Estonian Government sees this as the Russian Federation's readiness to move toward reaching an agreement. The government considers it necessary to emphasize that together with a deadline for the troop withdrawal it is also necessary to determine a precise timetable for the troop withdrawal, by the branch and unit, taking into account also an urgent withdrawal of the 144th Motorized Rifle Division and other military units which constitute a danger to Estonian security. The statement says that the timetable must also include the dismantlement of Paldiski Training Center.

Estonia agrees to sign the troop withdrawal agreement only if accompanied with a firm timetable as envisaged in the CSCE Helsinki 1992 Final Act and the UN 47th and 48th General Assembly Resolutions. The Estonian Government emphasizes that the Russian troop withdrawal cannot be linked to any additional conditions.

Pro Patria Party Reelects Laar as Chairman

WS2211144393 Tallinn BNS in English 1825 GMT 20 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 20, BNS—The general meeting of the senior party in Estonia's ruling coalition—the National Assembly Party "Pro Patria"—today re-elected Prime Minister Mart Laar as its chairman.

Laar received 103 votes against his rival candidate Enn Tarto's 72. Nine ballots were declared invalid.

Laar was moved as candidate by the Christian Democrats, and Tarto, by the Conservative division of the party.

This was the first time that the leader of the Pro Patria was elected in a general meeting of the party, Laar said. The party at the time of the first election was in the stage of formation—an umbrella organization of four right-of-the-center political parties.

Laar in his speech pointed out as vital that Pro Patria retained its contact with the people who voted for its candidates in October's local elections.

The general meeting today heard a report on the expenses for the party's campaign before last month's local elections. The reports showed that Pro Patria spent 523,246 kroons for campaigning between May 1 and Nov. 1. Out of this amount, 304,155 kroons was spent on advertising in the mass media.

The size of the party's balance sheet as of Nov. 1 was 812,742 kroons.

The meeting still has to elect on 8-member council and court of honor of the party, as well as set the size of the membership fee.

Manufactured Ammunition To Match NATO Standards

LD2211164093 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Preparations are being made in Estonia to manufacture ammunition to match NATO standards. Defense Minister Juri Luik announced this today, speaking in the Riigikogu. He stated that preparations are currently being made by several Estonian firms, and the Defense Ministry supports them within its capability.

According to information available to the Baltic News Service, it is first and foremost ammunition for light weapons matching NATO standards that will be manufactured in Estonia. Luik said that the classic NATO standards are 9 mm and 5.56 mm. The Uzi submachine guns and Galil light machine guns purchased from Israel are also of these calibers. Luik also confirmed that the weapons and ammunition purchased from Israel do meet NATO standards. He added that the Israeli arms deal comes with a one-year guarantee. Weapons were ordered from the Israeli army's standard set and they include spares as well as equipment for maintenance. Ammunition suitable for the weapons is manufactured by nearly all the Western countries as well as in China. In case of a possible conflict arising, there will be no ammunition problems for Estonia, Luik claimed.

Latvia

Delay Sought in Withdrawing Skrunda Facility

PM1911165193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Nov 93

[Video report by A. Yakovlev and V. Gorobets from Latvia; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] At the Latvian-Russian talks which have just ended, the Moscow delegation stated that Russian troops could be withdrawn from Latvia by 31 August 1994 on condition that the Skrunda radar station on the territory of that country can remain.

[A. Yakovlev] [video shows sign reading "Space tracking station," entrance gate, barbed wire, radar complex] In the former USSR, the radar station near Skrunda was an

important component of the unified missile attack warning system. If it ceases to operate now, a breach will appear in Russia's defenses in the northwest, which is regarded as a possible missile attack direction. The importance of the Skrunda radar station for Russia's national interests has been recognized by foreign experts. Research carried out two years ago revealed no harmful effects from the station on the environment.

At the interstate talks Latvia insisted on the rapid and complete withdrawal of all Russian troops, including the unit stationed near Skrunda.

In putting forward new proposals for the accelerated withdrawal of troops, Russia is hoping to conclude a treaty under which the radar station will be able to operate for a further six years until a similar installation is built on Russian territory.

Russia Can Keep Radar for 2 Years

LD2111215393 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 2100 GMT 21 Nov 93

[Text] The maximum period of time during which Russia, under certain guarantees, can keep under its control a radar station at Skrunda is two years. This is the opinion voiced today by Latvia's Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs in an interview given to the BNS news agency. He believes that the Russian side's proposal, to the effect that the Skrunda [radar] should remain under Russia's control another six years, is unacceptable. [Words indistinct] Latvia would remain in the sphere of Russia's interests, Birkavs told the BNS news agency.

According to prime minister, this issue should be tackled by the government. However, in any case international guarantees of Latvia's security will be needed. Latvia's proposals on implementation of such guarantees will be worked out by the Latvian side and submitted to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Discusses New Russian Military Doctrine

LD2211134993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Two news conferences were held in the Seimas Palace this morning. The first was held by Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the parliament opposition Tevynes Santara, [Homeland Concord]. He spoke about Russo-Lithuanian relations.

Vytautas Landsbergis said the new Russian military doctrine, which sanctions the use of force to defend Russian citizens in other states, has not been properly analyzed by Lithuanian politicians. Russian diplomats and high-ranking servicemen are probably probing world opinion to see what the reaction would be if attempts were made to draw the Baltic states back into the sphere of Russia's interests.

Therefore we cannot be too optimistic about economic or any other kind of integration toward the East, Vytautas Landsbergis said at the news conference. He said the aspirations for independence by the nations of the Caucasus, the former Soviet Union, have already been broken down. With respect to the Baltic states, Russia has thus far used far more sophisticated methods. [passage omitted]

Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the opposition in the Seimas, told today's news conference that early elections to the Lithuanian Seimas would not be a dramatic affair; the ruling party could verify its plenipotentiaries in this way.

In another, later, news conference, Juozas Bernatonis, deputy chairman of the Seimas, said Landsbergis's ideas about early parliamentary elections indicated the opposition's political inability to assess their former mistakes. Juozas Bernatonis repeated that the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party is determined to work until the end of its term in the fall of 1996, because according to him this will ensure concord and [word indistinct] in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

Transit Treaties With Russia To Be Signed

PM1811144793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 18 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Sergey Balyutskiy: "Lithuania-Russia: Important Documents To Be Signed"]

[Text] Vilnius—Under an accord between A. Brazauskas, president of Lithuania, and B. Yeltsin, president of Russia, V. Chernomyrdin, prime minster of the Russian Federation, will be arriving in Lithuania today. The sides will sign documents which were agreed in outline by the presidents during their meeting on 4 November.

The Treaty on Transit is a major part of the general agreements.

At the Lithuanian Ministry of Communications there was a meeting between Russian and Lithuanian experts on problems of transit across the republics' territories.

As your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent has learned, it has been agreed that firms from Lithuania and Russian firms based in Kaliningrad Oblast [firma-rezident Kaliningradskoy oblasti] will enjoy most-favored status. This means that trains traveling across Lithuanian territory and the territory of the oblast will not need any additional permits. However, this rule will not extend to freight from other oblasts in Russia. That freight, as well as consigments from Lithuania traveling across Russian territory must fill out special permits. That is why the mixed commission consisting of representatives of Lithuania and Russia is to establish the number of permits which the sides will be able to obtain.

There will be no additional payment levied on means of transport in possession of such permits when they cross the border.

A draft treaty on military transit across Lithuanian territory has also been prepared. However, this document does not specify the charge for shipments. In the Lithuanian side's opinion the existing tariff, standing at 0.1 Swiss francs per freight car-km, is too low. Neighboring Poland, after all, levies 0.7 Swiss francs. The experts believe that the last word in this dispute belongs to the Lithuanian and Russian prime ministers, who are meeting in Vilnius in the middle of this month.

No Military Transit Concessions

LD2011150693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 93

[Text] Lithuania will not grant any concessions in the Russian military transit from Germany, a Baltic News Service correspondent was told by Deputy Transport Minister Arvydas Lescinskas [name and title as received]. This applies to an agreement on military transit signed last Thursday [18 November] in Vilnius. Russia will now pay for military transport through Lithuania approximately twice as much as was provided for in the first draft agreement last summer, and what Russia was paying in the third quarter of this year.

In negotiations that went on for more than a year, Russia has been endeavoring to maintain prices fixed in the first draft agreement, but Lithuania succeeded in providing weighty arguments and proving that higher prices will be more advantageous to it.

The Lithuanian-Russian agreement will remain in force until the Army is withdrawn from Germany, not later than by 31 December 1994.

Government Set To Export, Import Strategic Materials

LD2311093393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Text] Lithuania has begun working on an export and import control system for strategic materials, goods, and technologies. The control system will have to meet all the requirements of the multilateral export control coordination committee [COCOM]. Upon creating its own system, Lithuania will be able to import most of the dangerous materials it needs, technologies for the nuclear power plant, super-computers, robots, and other high-tech equipment. Concurrently, Lithuania will commit itself not to use them for military purposes or export to third countries. Until now, strategic materials could not be legally taken into or out of Lithuania. Assistance in creating the new system has been offered by the Canadian, U.S. and Norwegian Governments. Lithuania will draw up a list of strategic materials and equipment that it would like to purchase. A strict licensing order will be applied for the import and export of strategic equipment and technologies.